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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 November 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR RECEIVES NEW PATROL BOAT FROM USSR

Herford MARINEFORUM in German Vol 60 No 9, Sep 85 pp 290, 292

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "GDR 'People's Navy' Receives New Marine Materiel"]

[Text] In Nov 1962 the "People's Navy" of the GDR took delivery of the first eight of its [guided] missile fast patrol boats from the Soviet Union, four more followed a year later, and in 1967 three motor boats were added. They are all of the OSA-I class and are each equipped with four launch canisters for the SS-N-2A ship-to-ship missile, the weapons system with which the Israeli destroyer El-Lath had been sunk in October 1967. These 15 boats have since been part of the "strike force" of the "People's Navy;" the oldest of these have now been in service for 23 years, the younger ones have had 18 years of service. With that they have undoubtedly reached the threshold of obsolescence. Materiel fatigue and other symptoms of wear and tear will hardly justify their use for more than a few more years. And it appears that the first decommissionings have already taken place; based on information current as of the spring of 1985, only 12 boats remain in service.

This situation unquestionably made a timely replacement necessary. Though it seemed at first as if the Peenewerft [Peene shipyard] in Wolgast, reserved exclusively to handle military requirements--where 16 modern antisubmarine warfare [ASW] corvettes of the PARCHIM class, being phased in since 1981, were most recently built--, would be used for this purpose, this turned out to be erroneous; the replacements are being provided by the Soviet Union, in the form of [guided] missile corvettes of the TARANTUL-I class, to be precise. While a series with modifications in the sensor area--TARANTUL-II--appears to be reserved for the Soviet Navy alone, the parallel construction of an export series--TARANTUL-I--has begun. Of this series, the People's Republic of Poland was the first to receive deliveries (three boats to date: GORNIK, HUTNIK, and STOCZNIOWIEC). In Oct 1984 the "People's Navy" took delivery of the first boat of this class; this [boat] was mentioned by name for the first time in Dec 1984 in GDR military literature: an article titled "Ready for Sea and Combat at All Stations" in issue 51/84 of "VOLKSARMEE," the official organ of the National People's Army [East German Army (EGA)], spoke of a "small rocket ship ALBIN KOERIS," in conjunction with which a Lieutenant Commander Peter Prest (the commander, possibly) addressed himself to a demand which Council of State Chairman Honecker had directed

at EGA members at the 9th Congress of the Central Committee of the SED [party]. The term "small rocket ship"--the exact equivalent of the Soviet designation "Malyy Raketnyy Korabl"--had not previously existed in the "People's Navy," in whose ship-type vocabulary the boats of the OSA-I class are designated "rocket fast patrol boats." With that it can with almost complete certainty be accepted as an established fact that the reported ship was a new delivery. In addition there is the name cited (which has now been awarded three times in the "People's Navy"); mistaking it for the boat with the same name of the OSA-I class can be ruled out since this--as already mentioned--is a "rocket fast patrol boat" and not a "small rocket ship." Nor is it unusual in the "People's Navy" to give newly constructed ships the names of phased out units whenever possible. Examples of this include the antisubmarine warfare [ASW] corvettes of the PARCHIM-class--most of these were given the names of phased out ASW ships of the HAI-III class.

Meanwhile, another boat of this class has been delivered; there are currently no indications in the GDR military press as to its name. Both were seen at sea for the first time in the early summer of 1985, after several months at dockside, presumably because instruction and training of their crews required extended time. This is easily understandable, since especially with this class the "People's Navy" is completing its entry into technological areas which are new for it; worth mentioning here are the CODOG propulsion plant, the SS-N-2C ship-to-ship missile weapons system, the new 76.2mm gun L/55, the Gatling automatic antiaircraft weapon ADMG 630, and finally the Plank Shave seaspace surveillance radar and possibly also a new ship control and weapons operations system.

The TARANTUL-I class is apparently being built exclusively at the Petrovskiy shipyard in Leningrad. Its ships have a displacement of 480/540 tons and measure 52.30/56.80 m in length, 9.50/10.50 in width, and have a draft of 2.50 m. The CODAG plant consists of two gas turbines of 8830 kW (12,000 HP) each and two diesel motors of 735 kW (1000 HP) each, the former working on the two outer shafts, the latter on the center shaft, and giving the ship a speed estimated to lie in the 34 to 38 knot range. Armament consists of four launch canisters--arranged two by two one above the other--for SS-N-2C ship-to-ship missiles, which are credited with having a maximum range of 45 nm and an effective range of 16 nm. These are known to have a preprogrammable flight altitude profile from 300 to 40 m and below, and to approach their target at a speed of Mach 0.9. Added to this offensive component are an extreme close-range ship-to-air missile weapons system SA-N-5, consisting of a quad launcher and probably eight missiles, a 76.2mm compact cannon L/55 in a closed single turret, and two Gatling automatic antiaircraft weapons ADMG 630.

Conspicuous here is the extreme forward location of the 76.2mm turret; the reason for this may be the requirement for optimal [fire] coverage areas also in the aft sectors.

With this class, the "People's Navy" is receiving very modern missile carriers whose platform stability and endurance [at sea] are without question greater than those of the OSA boats. It should not be assumed, however, at least for the time being, that the 15 OSA's of the "People's Navy" will

be replaced on a one-for-one basis. Six to eight ships are probably the limit of what can reasonably be expected.

The logistic component of the "People's Navy" has also experienced a substantial growth. After two so-called "combat support ships" were commissioned in 1980 and 1981, which by descent are based on the landing ships of the FROSCHE-I class built from 1976 on and are thus designated the FROSCHE-II class, a new class came into being from 1983 on, of which seven ships have since been built.

These so-called "high seas combat support ships," designated DARSS class after their control ship, are an indigenous development of the GDR. Noteworthy about them is that they--even though intended for naval use--were not built at the Peene shipyard in Wolgast, which is responsible for the military armament sector, but at the Neptunwerft [Neptun shipyard] in Rostock. One factor contributing to this may have been the related experiences which the yard in Rostock has been able to gather to date in the design and construction of modern freighters; with respect to their design concept, the ships of the DARSS class are more freighters than they are warships.

The ships of the DARSS class have a displacement--based on standard calculations--of 1200 tons, their dimensions are 61.80/68.50 x 10.00 x 3.50 m [length x width x draft]. Equipped with motor propulsion, they should attain a speed of around 15 knots, perhaps even a little more. The superstructure--commensurate with the propulsion system--is concentrated in the aft part of the ship. Located in the bow and amidships are two cargo holds with moveable hatch covers measuring circa 13.70 x 7.50 m each. On the upper deck between the two holds is a 10-ton deck crane traversable through 360 degrees. The payload is estimated at circa 650 tons of bulk goods and 200 tons of fuel.

These ships do not carry any armament in peacetime; however, the DARSS was observed during sea trials with three 25mm twin antiaircraft guns L/70, but these had already been removed by the time the ships were placed into service. It can therefore be assumed that these are mobilization-planned weapons.

The seven ships delivered to date--of which the names DARSS, WITTOW, MOENCHGUT, KUEHLUNG, WERDAU and GRANITZ have become known--have without a doubt advanced the logistic capabilities of the "People's Navy" considerably. With their delivery, a step has now also been taken in the auxiliary ship sector which has been long overdue. Seen its totality, the "People's Navy," thanks to the influx of the second type generation, has made great gains in modernization. Thus it now has at its disposal combat-effective [guided] missile frigates (KONI class), modern ASW corvettes (PARCHIM class), time-tested mine countermeasures ships (KONDOR-II class), modern landing ships (FROSCHE-I class), and efficient support ships (FROSCHE-II and DARSS class).

Now the obsolete OSA-type missile fast patrol boats are being replaced by the substantially more modern missile corvettes, so that only the torpedo fast patrol boats of the SHERSHEN class are left of the older material, the oldest of which have an equally long service period behind them. Their replacement should therefore be due in the years ahead.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAV RECORDS IMPRESSIONS OF VISIT TO ALBANIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6, 13 Oct 85

[Series of articles by Silvio Vadlja: "The Capital of an Isolation"]

[6 Oct 85 p 16]

[Text] There were seven passengers in the airplane. We were told that there are rarely more on the regular JAT [Yugoslav Airline] flight between Belgrade and Tirana. I was a bit nervous and aware of many unknowns as I awaited my encounter with the country I have heard so much about, but actually know little about. What awaited me in Tirana? I was traveling to Albania's capital with my colleagues from "Rade Koncar" in connection with building a large transformer substation.

The morning sun glistened through the narrow windows of the DC-9. The air corridor to Tirana is on the "sea" side. We flew over long sandy beaches and plowed fields. The airport where we landed was not large, and its equipment was rather out-of-date. As soon as our pilot brought the plane to a stop and shut down the engines, a person in an official uniform entered the plane and took our documents. We gave him the passports and the forms which we had received back in Yugoslavia before our departure. We had had to fill them out in quadruplet and attach photographs. We had brought two copies with us into Albania, and now we were presenting them. That was the beginning of the "paperology" which we had been prepared for from the outset. We wondered how it would be in customs?

Yet all of this took a much shorter time than we thought it would. After a half-hour wait in a small room "decorated" with posters and pictures of Enver Hoxha, we got the "green light" to enter Albania. We learned that even the wait in the "waiting room" was a part of the ceremony from the handy bookshelf containing the books of Enver Hoxha, provided so that travelers could shorten the time while their documents were being checked.

Room for \$30

Now that we had the customs formalities behind us, we calmly inspected the rather small airport terminal. A restaurant, or rather a large room with 15 wooden tables and chairs, and a small duty-free shop in which foreigners could

purchase cigarettes, liquor and a heap of souvenirs. Everywhere around the airport there were slogans and the inevitable bunkers, some covered with straw and grass, others quite obvious with their concrete cupolas.

It is half an hour's drive from the airport to Tirana. The representatives of "Makinoimport," who are responsible for conducting business with "Koncar," were not there to meet us at the airport. We took a taxi to Tirana on our own. The taxi was not the kind we are used to. The dilapidated Fiat-125, made in Poland, is actually a hotel vehicle, and we do not pay the bill to the driver, but later in the hotel bill. The driver, who was in a good mood, offered us cigarettes. They are short, without filter, reminiscent of our old "Drava." They are called "Partizans." We tried to talk with our driver while we were traveling down the empty road toward Tirana. He did not refuse to converse, but unfamiliarity with the language proved to be an obstacle we could not overcome.

The road from the airport to Tirana is edged with close rows of trees. Occasionally we meet large trucks in a rather neglected condition. These were old Chinese models which had long ago served out their operating life. There were also mopeds and bicycles. There were also horse-drawn trucks, large wagons with a cab for the driver hitched behind one or two horses. That is all the traffic there was.

#### Dancing--With Slogans

In Tirana we put up in the Hotel "Daiti." The hotel did not have the traditional category rating at the entrance, but in terms of comfort it would correspond to "B" category. Large rooms and a still larger bathroom with a tub that was like a small swimming pool. The hotel was half-empty. At the desk we did not encounter the formalities we expected. A quick examination of the documents, and that was all. The prices in the hotel are in leks. A room with breakfast is 210 leks. Or, at the exchange rate, \$30.

In the days that followed I discovered that I could move about Tirana much more freely than I thought. I did not notice that I was being followed or observed by anyone. Thus I walked through the city as much as I liked, in the daytime and at night, I looked over the shops and coffeehouses. I learned that a special permit was required only to travel from one city to another.

Tirana's appearance does not arouse one's enthusiasm. The suburbs are run-down, and the center of the city is dominated by prewar construction. The largest building is the 10-story Hotel Tirana. Government institutions are accommodated in every building of any size or quality. The streets are not excessively clean, but they are much better cared for than the dirty coffeehouses, which are so smoky that I had no desire at all to go in. As I was walking through Tirana one evening, I spied a rather nice-looking restaurant. I decided to go in. I was halted roughly at the entrance by an armed sentry. Only then did I realize that the restaurant was an officers' club. Since I was a foreigner, I naturally could not go in.

The business talks with the specialists of "Makinoimport" took place in the building of the protocol department which is set aside exclusively for such purposes. We learned that all business meetings in Tirana are organized in that building. The building has some 20 rooms completely alike--table, chairs and ashtrays are almost their only furnishings. We were served coffee and cognac. Those we dealt with were business people who keep to an agreement very precisely. They performed their part of the obligations on time and precisely as called for in the contract. Everything was conducted within the limits of cool business politeness, but our host did not conceal a desire to accommodate us whenever possible. We agreed to make an excursion to Durres and Kruje.

In the evening I walked Tirana's streets. They were overflowing with people who obviously did not have many opportunities for entertainment. This particular evening was an exception, since an evening of entertainment for young people with music and dancing had been organized in one of the hotels. The rooms in the basement where the sounds of music were coming from were open to the public, and no one stopped me or checked my identity, even though it was obvious that I was a foreigner. I remained indifferent to the music by contrast with the great numbers of people involved in dancing. These were some new Albanian rhythms. Of course, I did not understand the words, but I later learned that they carried messages like those in the hundreds of slogans which decorate the streets of Tirana.

Several men came up to me, but the majority stood at a distance. They looked me over inquisitively. Once again conversation came to nothing. No one understood me, and no one knew or wanted to use any language but Albanian. I went back to the hotel. The streets were empty even at about 2200 hours, and all the places of business were closed. What little vehicle traffic there was in the daytime died out. I turned around--still there was no one following me. At night on the streets in Tirana a pedestrian feels safe, there are no drunks, no aggressive passersby, no unbridled young men. Mostly there were the army and police patrols. However, none of them stopped me to look at my papers.

#### Bathing Beauties From the Fifties

One morning the people from "Makinoimport" took us to Durres. We set out in their "ZUK" van. They said it was made in Poland. It had been kept up with care, as indeed was true of the few other vehicles I had occasion to see. Nevertheless, the old van traveled slowly on the road. In Durres we went to the Hotel "Adriatik." This hotel was also exclusively for foreigners. A large sandy beach stretched out in front of the hotel. The weather was very warm, and it was crowded with swimmers. An area of beach in front of the hotel was reserved for foreign swimmers. To left and right of that "oasis" there was an invisible line which everyone abided by without objection. The natives were not allowed to encroach. But the "native" part of the beach was as crowded and busy as an anthill.

Most of the women wore bikinis smaller than those we have become used to. It was the fashion in the fifties. In general it is as though time stopped somewhere in the fifties--the automobiles, the bathing suits, the radios, the

furniture and who knows what all else--everything has been designed the way it was made three decades ago. Durres, incidentally, is the most popular vacation place for Albanians. A majority spend their vacation here (I was told it lasts 2 weeks). There are not many hotels, but the lodgings for domestic travelers are overflowing.

Like any vacation spot at the seaside, Durres has terraces from which the sounds of music resound in the evening. There are also palm trees, shops selling souvenirs, but it is all alien to what we think of as a large summer resort. The high wire fence at the very end of the beach shows Albania's other well-known face. The fence divides the section of official residences from the beach for the average citizen. The summer places of the top officials are hidden behind the fence and a dense forest. Everything is guarded, and one can only guess what they look like.

Which souvenir to bring from Durres? The selection is small--one can choose between cigarette cases, stone ashtrays, copper pots for making Turkish coffee, or fruit bowls. Badges with the Albanian flag are in the greatest abundance. In the end I decide on "Skenderbeg" cognac, which is the most popular "souvenir" from Albania.

We went back to Tirana. In the evening I went to the late-night bar of our hotel. Empty, just a few sleepy customers and the tireless music. During their break the musicians turn on an Evergreen tape recorder, which is so old it has a patina. The bar stays open for even the last customer. I gave the waiter a tip. Tips are accepted only in hotels for foreigners. Elsewhere there is no question of it.

The next day our hosts took us to Kruje. They showed us Skenderbeg's castle. This is a completely new building reconstructed from old drawings. They also took us to the museum with great pride. A group of Pioneers with red kerchiefs were waiting in silence in front of the entrance. We listened to the tale of Skenderbeg in an atmosphere that was a bit ceremonial. As we returned to Tirana I looked at the landscape in which the Mediterranean vegetation stands out. Tiny little houses with still smaller yards, bunkers and slogans.

My first visit to Tirana was coming to an end. During the last days I continued to walk the city which I had managed to get to know fairly well. Except, of course, those quarters where the leaders live and where no one is allowed to go. The building of the university caught my attention. At the entrance there is a doorman who checks everyone's papers. I went in with a sizable group of students. I mumbled something incomprehensible in English in answer to the doorman's query. He did not react, and I went on in. I walked past the demonstration rooms for electrical engineering, which were overflowing with teaching equipment which would have been more suitably placed in a museum than a university institution. The students looked at me in amazement. All of a sudden an elderly man came up to me, obviously a professor:

"What are you looking for here?" he asked me in Italian. "Are you not aware that you have no right to come in here?"

[13 Oct 85 pp 8, 9]

[Text] "What are you doing here?" I was asked by the elderly man, who was surrounded by students who had been examining me with amazement. I immediately understood that as a foreigner I was not welcome in the large building of the university in Tirana. To be sure, he quickly explained to me that I could make an official request to visit the university. In that case they would be glad to familiarize me with how the institution operated. But private visits were out of the question. Of course, I found myself out on the street in a moment. I had the feeling that the man did not like sending me away.

I did not have much time for reflection about that visit to the university. It was time to go back to Yugoslavia. The customs formalities were strict as always. Again I filled out the forms, I "declared" in writing everything I was carrying out of Albania. And then there I was in the airplane and leaving the Tirana airport. But business brought me back to that country again.

Everything was the same as the year before. The border procedure, the half-empty airport terminal, and the landscape set off with bunkers. This time we were met at the airport by representatives of "Makinoimport" with whom "Rade Koncar" is collaborating in building a large transformer substation in Elbasan. That was in fact the destination of my trip, Elbasan.

We went to that city in the ZUK van which we had gotten to know quite well during our first visit to Tirana. The dilapidated but well-maintained vehicle slowly covered the kilometers in the hilly region. Elbasan is some 100 km or so from Tirana, which we did in 2.5 hours. Along the road I noticed people who waved to us to stop. Our hosts explained that this was the Albanian version of hitchhiking. There were few vehicles on the roads, and those who were walking signaled every driver to give them a ride. But not by raising their thumb, but by waving their hands. The drivers regularly stop, respecting the unwritten rule that every such traveler should be given a ride if possible. We did not pick up the hitchhikers, since the passengers in the ZUK were foreigners. That is why stopping was out of the question.

#### Slogans Even in the Stadium

Elbasan is located in a broad valley surrounded by hills. A cloud of smog hovered over it. Our hosts explained that it was "produced" by a large metallurgical combine nearby. The city is dirtier than Tirana, the buildings are not as respectable looking and not as well-kept. Here again the large main street is the most noticeable; this is where they have the corso in the evenings. Everywhere I noticed small shops. The oriental influence is evident at every step.

The work of testing the transformer substation, which has already been built, takes all day. There is not much time to look over the city. We have been put up in the Hotel "Scampa." The hotel does not "specialize" in foreigners, but also has Albanian guests. It is half-empty, there is no hot water in the room. They say: repairs in the boilerroom. The prices of lodgings and food

are similar to those in Tirana--about 180 leks (\$25 at the rate of exchange) for lodgings without breakfast. Buses full of foreigners stop occasionally in front of the hotel. One contains Austrians who take up half the hotel. Business keeps us occupied until the late hours of the evening, so that we do not manage to learn anything in great detail about the unusual visit of tourists.

The soccer stadium of the local major league team "Labinotija" is located at the end of the main street. Soccer is very popular here, and this team won the Albanian championship last year. Our hosts took us to a soccer game between the young national teams of Albania and Turkey. The stadium has a capacity of 10,000 and is filled to the last seat. The fans are very noisy. They cheer fervently, and they know soccer very well. Nowhere do we see the usual banners and flags of the fans, and here there are the inevitable political slogans where in our stadiums there would usually be advertising. Yet the atmosphere is the real atmosphere of soccer fans. The home team loses one to nothing.

Do Albanians like soccer? Later in talking to our hosts I learned that they carefully follow soccer matches even in other countries. The way Albania is shut off from the world, I can only guess how they manage that. Wonders never cease! They even told me about Yugoslav soccer players, and they commented on which of them are best. They all agreed on Fadil Vokkri. They are enthusiastic about his play and his goals. They consider him a real ace.

As the days passed, I became more and more convinced that the people around me were thawing and becoming much more open. Some talked about the foreign broadcasting on television, they knew all the characters in "Dynasty." There were some who were enthusiastic even about some copies of our own "variegated" press which I had smuggled in. They were most interested in centerfold photographs. These people were no longer cold toward foreigners in the least, as I had wrongly believed them to be.

#### The Nighttime Silence in Elbasan!

The night life in Elbasan is not as lively as in Tirana. Only the corso is crowded with strollers at about 2000 hours. But they quickly disperse. Everything dies out at about 2100 hours. There is no one on the street. In Elbasan I also moved freely about the streets, no one stopped me to look at my papers, although it was clear to everyone that I was a foreigner. I even took photographs. Patrols pass at night on the main square, which is decorated with the inevitable slogans. Everything is quiet. At night Elbasan seems not to emit any sound at all.

At just that time Enver Hoxha was seriously ill, and the news came that he died. We were on the construction site. At about 1200 hours all the Albanians left the substation with a watchman. We also went to the hotel. A very serious atmosphere prevailed at that time. Everything was very quiet and peaceful in the days that followed; in the evening no one went to the restaurants, which otherwise were always full. The funeral was carried live on television. The broadcast lasted 4 hours. We watched it with the hotel personnel. Some women around us wailed in mourning, and one fainted. During those days I

carefully looked at the people on the street, some were very sad, others were trying to conceal their indifference.

Soon after that I left Elbasan. In Belgrade I called home from the airport. I hadn't been able to do that for the previous month. The telephone line was always "out of service." Another return home, and then a few months later, in September, I landed on the runway of the airport, which had now become familiar, for the third time. There was much that I already knew. The face of Tirana was still decorated with posters bearing the image of Enver Hoxha. In some places one also saw the image of his successor Ramiz Alia.

#### On the Hill Above Tirana

Enver Hoxha is buried on a hill above Tirana, in the immediate vicinity of the monuments to freedom which dominate the city because of their size. I visited this spot with a colleague. From a distance we saw three soldiers smoking and talking at ease. As soon as they saw we were coming (up until that point there had been no one around the monuments), they took up the prescribed attitude of the honor guard. There were three of them standing right by the grave. Hoxha is buried in a cemetery of honored citizens of Albania, his grave is set a bit apart, but it does not differ in essence from the others. It was covered with a few wreaths.

In the days that followed I looked at the stores in Tirana. They were not well-supplied, the butcher shops did not have meat, and clothing was the most important thing in the department stores. There were also old-model radios and still older monochrome and color television sets. Albanian television, incidentally, is in color. Ready-made clothing is very expensive, and there is no great choice. I looked at the trousers and suits cut to a fashion difficult to place. Trousers cost 260 leks, and the datum that monthly pay runs from 600 to 800 leks shows how much that is. Aware of Albanian's traditional skill in making jewelry and filigree I tried to find a shop with articles of that kind, but unsuccessfully. I later learned that there are no articles of precious metals at all on sale to the public.

In spite of the poor selection Albanians devote quite a bit of attention to their appearance. I noticed many young people who were dressed up, some of them even in the "real" fashion. I learned that anyone who wants to be well-dressed orders his clothing from the "cottage" industry. Everyone gets along as best he knows and is able, but it cannot be denied that many people manage to satisfy their yearnings for more modern and bolder fashionable expression at least to some extent.

#### One Newspaper at the Stands

I also went to the store for diplomats. There you can buy two kinds of bread (in an "ordinary" store only one is sold). There is a good choice of meat, canned goods and other products. Incidentally, every store and market is well-supplied with fruit and vegetables at very accessible prices. At newspaper stands they sell only ZERI I POPULIT and a few brands of cigarettes.

Trade in Tirana, although there is not much of it, is more intense than in Elbasan. I recall the crossroads in Elbasan where there was a traffic policeman, although there was no traffic at all. He was bored. But he was not leaving his post. Those surprises that once occurred in Tirana are now being displaced by boredom. Every day is the same.

And here I am again at the airport. This time I am traveling in a small JAT plane which does not have enough fuel for the flight to Belgrade, so we are stopping at Dubrovnik. What sort of impressions am I carrying away? The unknown Albania covertly showed me only a small part of its secrets. Business will probably take me several more times to Tirana and Elbasan. I hope at that time I will discover and learn some other unusual aspects of life and of the people in that mysterious country which still does not allow one to think for a moment that he is anything more in it than a foreigner.

7045

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BULGARIA

CHIEF EDITOR DWELLS ON MEANING OF 'PROPAGANDA'

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Sep 85 p 1

[Editorial by Veselin Yosifov: "A Human Affair"]

[Text] In every human gesture there is an element of propaganda. When I pass through a certain village and see "discotheque", written in large letters, and yet the well-known "library" fails to appear, then I know that cultural and educational affairs are not quite as they should be in that village. And in no way do I need to make propaganda for that village. At the market they sell, let's say, cookies. You buy them, take them home for your children or grandchildren, but find to your surprise that they are two months old, although they are marked with a six-day shelf-life. After that, you don't need propaganda for the fine produce of the cookie factory in question or for the quality of the store.

In general, propaganda is made to circumvent the truth, to slip past poor-quality or out-of-date goods, for dubious stage stars or yet for no less dubious artistic or political stars. On the other hand, every good thing is its own propaganda, for example Chirpan "champagne", Vrachan muscatel, such and such a program on television, such and such a newspaper or writer, such and such a policy!

No one can persuade me that there is freedom of press where good things are concealed and not allowed to make their own propaganda. Let's say that a good proposal for peace is made in the Soviet Union and in the entire socialist camp, and the newspapers announce in a few lines that there is some sort of suggestion. And that's all. What is going on here, where is the news in that, what opportunities does it open up, and so on?! These things do not happen. Either not a word is uttered. Or information is provided as it should be. There are countries where for decades on end, for example, not a single good word has been spoken about our fatherland. Whatever we do, whatever we say, whatever we achieve, there, without fail, everything is turned inside out. The past is turned inside out -- both recent and distant; the present is turned inside out -- with everything that is good and not so good; and every good initiative for the future is turned inside out. It makes you want to cry out: it's not right to go that far! Neither our cheese is white, nor our wine red, nor yet our water wet!

The old cookie propaganda is a common phenomenon in the western capitalist world when it comes to socialism, the countries of socialism and the people of socialism. Somewhere, things have got to the stage where the local people are amazed that we shave every day, that we use eau de cologne and speak strange languages. The thesis is simple: everything that comes from real socialism, is not real at all but propaganda! And so it goes for decades on end. You'd think they'd be sick of it.

There's a Bulgarian proverb that goes: "Had it been eaten, it wouldn't have hung". For decades on end, the anti-Soviet, anticommunist, antisocialist propaganda has hung like dried meat in the sun on the balconies of newspapers, televisions and radio programs, and in the speeches of politicians and statesmen.

Sometimes we offer our hand in a friendly handshake. They squeal that we are raising our leg to kick them. We talk seriously of serious things -- they drown our words with advertisements for washing powders and contraceptive devices. We make proposals for peace -- they talk to us about star wars.

Who turned human conversation into a dialogue between the deaf and the mute? History did not teach us about two people who could talk and understand each other if one did not use the common language and the other did not listen. How can one side halt nuclear tests and the other, in reply, conduct such tests the very next morning? How can everything red be black, and everything black be white. Isn't it clear that this road leads to one and the same graveyard, where every path has a left and right side.

"Since in everything we do they really only see propaganda," said Mikhail Gorbachev, "why not reply according to the principle: "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth? We stopped the nuclear tests. And you, Americans, go and do the same, as revenge."

Propaganda is a human affair. That's why it should serve human goals. No-one makes propaganda for the crematorium. So far we have only got as far as advertisements for funeral homes.

Let's direct propaganda at life! Everything else is left hanging but cannot be eaten. Let's leave the good deeds to make their own propaganda. In folklore, even in the most backward countries, good always overcomes evil. Who needs, then, to encourage evil, to give it dope, to massage it before every duel with good? Let's forget that, in the battle with evil, good always has eyes and teeth. That's no longer propaganda.

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BULGARIA

ALLEGED CIA DISINFORMATION, PROPAGANDA METHODS DESCRIBED

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 28 Aug, 4 Sep, 11 Sep 85

[Serialized article by Alfred Krispin: "The Time of the Liars: The Sterling Case"]

[28 Aug 85 pp 9-10]

[Text] With good reason, Ms Claire Sterling claims the right of primogeniture on "the Bulgarian trail" in the attempted assassination of the Pope on 13 May 1981. At the trial itself, in progress in Rome, more and more facts are coming to light that point in the opposite direction, yet still a part of public opinion in Italy continues to be held captive by this legend. A large part of the credit for this state of public opinion in the West goes to the wide-ranging influence of television and radio. As a result of biased and tendentious reporting on the progress of the trial, even now the version of this freelance American journalist prevails in the minds of some people in the West: that the attempt was organized by the Bulgarian secret services at Moscow's suggestion.

"Claire Sterling was the first to discover the plot to kill the Pope. This was in September 1982 when she published an article in READER'S DIGEST that had international repercussions. Now, in a personally and profoundly experienced, well documented and gripping book, she acquaints us with the substance of the story as only she is able to tell it..." So goes the text, written by the publisher (and may be by the author herself) on the fly-page of the American edition of her book "The Time of the Assassins".

Claire Sterling's book came out in January 1984. With the cooperation of her publishers at READER'S DIGEST, Claire Sterling went on a large-scale, expensive promotional tour in sixteen cities throughout the USA and in a dozen other countries.

"The Age of the Assassssins" has appeared under different titles in translation to other languages. This book became a "best-seller" and not only brought Ms Sterling international fame but also entitled her to the thirty pieces of silver befitting her name. ("Sterling" is the designation given to the alloy containing 92.5 percent pure silver, from which the famous English pounds sterling were minted in the past.)

## Original Sin

The comparison with Judas Iscariot is not so far-fetched. Before becoming an adherent of the far-right, Ms Claire Sterling was allegedly a communist, was she not. She does not care to be reminded of the fact. Perhaps she has already forgotten about it. But the fact remains that, as a student at Brooklyn College in New York, and afterwards at Columbia University, she was a member of the youth organization of the Communist Party of the United States.

To this day perhaps, she is trying to atone for this original sin with the anticommunist bitterness of the ensuing years. To this day perhaps, she must prove to her anticommunist bosses that she truly belongs to them. That is her problem. If I mention it, it is because it explains the bitterness, worthy of the famous witchhunter, Senator Joseph Macarthy, God rest his soul, with which Ms Sterling throws herself not only against everything communist but also against everything to the left of her, even traditional American liberalism.

When we talk of Macarthyism, we should mention that Ms Sterling becomes indignant when her activities are compared with the hunt for the red witches organized in the USA by Senator Joseph Macarthy during the fifties. As she herself said in an interview with the French journal L'EXPRESS on 30 March, 1984, she is particularly irritated by the fact that precisely in the USA, at the time of her promotional tour, they asked her just about everywhere whether she didn't invoke with her writings the spectre of the unforgettable deceased and whether she didn't see red conspirators under every bed. In refuting such accusations, she points out that, at the time of Jo Macarthy's campaigns, she was working at a journal where the editorial stance was clearly anti Macarthy. She means THE REPORTER, where she began her journalistic career.

Claire Sterling was on this journal's pay-roll throughout its entire 19-year existence. When she married in 1951, the editor-in-chief of The Reporter himself, Italian American Max Ascoli, sent her as a wedding gift to Italy, where she lives to this day. But what about THE REPORTER?

During the second world war, Claire Sterling's editor-in-chief and benefactor had some give-and-take with the OSO (Organization for Strategic Operations), the forerunner of the CIA. The circumstances in which he closed his doors in 1968 are indicative of the nature of the journal he published. Then, at the height of the student unrest that swept over the whole western world, it was discovered that the CIA had systematically infiltrated and provided financial support for extremist leftist groups and a number of publications, some of which enjoyed quite a good reputation. Among other things, it came to light that THE REPORTER had been subsidized by secret CIA funds since the latter's very first day.

Claire Sterling becomes very indignant when she is called, not infrequently, a CIA agent. Personally, I won't take it upon myself to allege that she is a professional operative of the famous spy organization. Given that I am convinced of the professionalism of the CIA, I doubt that they would hire her for regular work there. Ms Sterling is so blinded by her prejudices and so inclined to believe in her own propagandist formulations that she is hardly

suitable spy material. However, that does not mean that she may not be used for assignments for which she is suitable precisely because of her prejudices. Isn't it a fact that for 19 years Claire Sterling drew a regular salary from THE REPORTER?

To stay on her feet after THE REPORTER closed in 1968, Claire Sterling, who was not at all the rich and famous freelance journalist that she is today, worked on the DAILY AMERICAN, a newspaper published in Rome. Now, from the pinnacle of her newly acquired position, she speaks scornfully of the Daily American as a "little village paper, full of advertisements, intended for the English-speaking colony of foreigners in Rome" ("The Age of the Assassins", p 170).

At the time, that little village paper was the main tribune for her journalistic expression.

But what is the DAILY AMERICAN? According to COVERT ACTION, a bulletin published in Washington that specializes in exposing the dirty tricks of the secret services, that little paper is also supported by the CIA.

DAILY AMERICAN became a fosterling of the CIA in 1953, when Ms Claire Booth Luce was the U.S. ambassador to Italy. This very woman, a former journalist and wife of newspaper magnate Henry Luce, the owner of the largest American publishing house at the time--Time-Life--which published the journal of the same name, Ms Claire Booth Luce provoked the most varied reactions due to her lack of professionalism in her new field and her total ignorance in the sphere of diplomacy. In the words of the famous American journalist, S.L. Sulzberger, Ms Booth Luce looked upon the Italians as a nation that could not govern itself by democratic means, as a result of which autocrats had to be constantly in power in Italy.

Claire Sterling, who had already taken up permanent residence in Italy, became a member of the ambassador's retinue. It was she and the future director of the CIA, William Colby, then a greenhorn working in the CIA's Rome operation, who persuaded Madame Ambassador that the DAILY AMERICAN would fall into the hands of the reds if action wasn't taken. And with characteristic vigor the ambassador set to work to avert this disaster. Through her husband, Henry Luce, who was a close friend of the first director of the CIA, Alan Dulles, she suggested that it was imperative that the little Rome paper be bought out by the spy service. Whether it was the persuasiveness of the ambassador herself or the influence of her powerful husband and his money, at all events, in 1953 the DAILY AMERICAN became the property of the CIA.

#### Spies and the Press

What purpose these and other subsidized publications, and indeed individual journalists serve the CIA we shall hear from the mouth of the former director of the CIA, William Colby. On 8 February 1976 the International Herald Tribune quoted his testimony before a committee of the U.S. Congress that was investigating scandals surrounding the activities of the American intelligence services: "Some freelance journalists overseas are still on the payroll of the

CIA... From time to time we use them as our agents to disseminate to the press materials that the CIA wants to see published."

"During the past 25 years, approximately 400 American journalists, including correspondents of THE NEW YORK TIMES, CBS and a dozen other organizations, have secretly exchanged information and in some cases assisted in operations of the Central Intelligence Agency," announced THE NEW YORK TIMES on 12 September 1977. "The CIA has repeatedly refused requests to publish the names of journalists with whom it has exchanged information or whom it has used as its agents, basing their argument on their own belief that the agents are intelligence sources whose identity must remain under the protection of the law."

Among the news agencies reported, we come across the names of the WASHINGTON POST, the LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL, the Copley News Service, the television companies ABC and NBC, the telegraph agencies Associated Press, United Press International and Reuters, publications of the Hearst newspaper chain and the journals TIME, NEWSWEEK and READER'S DIGEST. Then it was revealed that, according to unnamed spokesmen at the CIA, THE NEW YORK TIMES had allowed 10 agency operatives to pass themselves off as technical personnel or assistant correspondents in their bureaus overseas.

Alarmed at the discoveries of infiltration of the NEW YORK TIMES by CIA agents, and in order to wash its face in public, the editorial office of this most authoritative American newspaper assigned a team of reporters to conduct a 3-month investigation of the spy service's activities in the sphere of the press. On 3 January 1978, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE reprinted the results of the investigation that had been published in the NEW YORK TIMES, as set forth by John M. Krudson, senior reporter on the investigating team. Since they are pertinent to our case too, we shall quote Mr. Krudson's basic findings.

"For the greater part of the three decades since its existence, the CIA has made systematic and furtive efforts to mold public opinion overseas in support of U.S. foreign policy. The agency promulgated information and disinformation via a considerable network of newspapers, news agencies and other communications media, mostly overseas, that it owned, subsidized or influenced in other ways..."

During the process of the investigation conducted by a team of reporters from THE NEW YORK TIMES, the following was ascertained:

"The CIA has, at different times, owned or subsidized over 50 newspapers, news agencies, radio stations, periodicals and other communications media, some in the United States but most of them overseas, which were used as instruments of its wide-ranging propaganda efforts, as covers for its operatives, or both. Paid agents of the CIA were placed in dozens of other news agencies overseas which were not financed by the CIA..."

"Each of about a dozen American publishers, among them some of the most famous firms in the business, has published at least a dozen or so of the 250 books, published in English in the United States, that were ordered by the CIA

or written directly in the agency. Approximately one thousand books published abroad by the CIA or on its behalf contain propaganda, from insignificant lies to outright falsehoods...

About 100 American journalists working in 10 or so American news agencies have worked as paid intelligence operatives parallel to their activities as reporters. At least a dozen regular CIA officers have worked overseas passing themselves off as reporters or technical personnel in American-owned news agencies..."

"There is no doubt that in its efforts to mold public opinion, the CIA's chief target has been the citizens of other countries... But some of the CIA's propaganda efforts have been made precisely because of their eventual influence in the United States itself... According to a number of former CIA employees, the agency's broad propaganda campaign has been conducted in the knowledge that fictitious news that is pushed through overseas may be perceived as true by the news media in the United States..."

"In its efforts to influence foreign public opinion, the CIA has used many different forms, from misrepresentation of historical documents... and distortion of elements in the news that otherwise contain some truth... to pure lies.... One long-serving regular officer at the CIA recalls: 'My assignment was to get local people to write articles. That way, the impression was created that the material didn't come from the embassy but was written by some respected local commentator, as a result of which the article had more weight.'"

"The instrument of choice at the CIA for disseminating what it calls 'black' or unofficial propaganda has always been the overseas agencies to which it has made secret financial contributions or overseas reporters and editors who were among its paid agents. According to CIA sources, at one time, the agency disposed of over 800 such 'propaganda investments', for the most part foreign journalists. Asked last year (1976) whether the CIA had ordered its agents to write, the former director of the CIA, William Colby, replied: 'But of course, all the time'..."

But what exactly did they do, the journalists and contributors of the CIA and the agency's regular agents who were passing themselves off as journalists? In 1982 the CIA made a sworn statement in court on the occasion of a suit brought against the agency. Although the names of journalists used by the agency were not mentioned, the missions with which they were entrusted were described:

"Some of them, probably the majority, were simply sources of foreign information of an intelligence nature; others afforded cover or channels for financing; others furnished official materials for use by the CIA, collaborated in the writing of or directly wrote materials stemming from the CIA, or again were used to supply materials prepared by the CIA to the foreign news agencies; others assisted in activities of a non-journalistic nature, by discovering, investigating and recruiting potential sources or managing other agents; and some assisted by granting access to individuals who were of interest for intelligence purposes or by organizing support among the local

population for the policies and actions of the USA." (INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 11 June 1982.)

In the company of American spies it is not customary to use the names of regular and temporary collaborators or of "propaganda investments" even when they are already known. But since, from her very first day as a journalist, Claire Sterling had received her pay from established CIA press agencies, do we have any reason to exclude her from the number of likely "propaganda investments"? She was (and continues to be) ideally placed: an American journalist of renown who has been living overseas for more than three decades. From her position in Italy, she can send back to the American press in the form of objective despatches the disinformation that has appeared in the Italian newspapers thanks to the successes of other "propaganda investments". And vice-versa, she can pass off to Italian newspapers as an unbiased appeal, the tendentious positions and false data that others like her have published in American periodicals.

[4 Sep 85 pp 9, 10]

[Text] Over the course of the years (and there are quite a few) in which the "investment" was made, this method of promulgating disinformation has become routine practice for Ms Sterling. Even today, when she herself has risen to the status of "authoritative source of information", Ms Sterling has not renounced this skill, such is the extent to which it has become second nature to her. We come across it in her articles, which appear in publications of different nationalities and the most unlikely political colors. We come across it in her interviews, particularly those on television. By prior agreement and under the guise of questions, the interviewers spontaneously set forth and underscore allegations, which have already been made in her earlier publications, and have as a rule appeared in other countries.

To create an appearance of objectivity when she passes off some of her most arbitrary opinions as facts, she is not ashamed to quote her own writings, cited in the works of other authors, as though they were the quotes of other authors. This technique was applied liberally in her major works, which finally opened up for her the doors to high society.

In the Big League

It goes without saying that Claire Sterling is not a novice in the profession. For all that, she remained a comparatively small fry for three decades.

As an expert in anti-Sovietism, her name was first heard clearly in 1970 when she published her first book "The Masaryk Case". Without producing evidence, and merely on the basis of statements made by unidentified sources, defectors from socialist states and her own arbitrary logic structures and inferences, which she presents as categorical axioms, she alleged in this book that Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, had been murdered there after the February revolution of 1948 to prevent him from escaping to the West.



But Ms Sterling's great chance came in April 1981 when the publishers of READER'S DIGEST, Holt, Reinhardt and Winston, published her book "The Terror Network".

The time was particularly auspicious for such a publication. The then new, ultraconservative president, Ronald Reagan, had just come to power in the United States, and he was surrounded by a team of raging anti-Soviets. In the words of the first secretary of state in the new administration, General Alexander Haig, the governing team in Washington announced that, in the campaign against the socialist states, the chief object to be denounced and utterly defeated was international terrorism, which was fostered and directed by Moscow. In the book which, in her own words, Ms Sterling worked on for two-and-a-half years, she developed the theory that bands of terrorists operating in the western world were inspired, trained, financed and led by Moscow in the execution of a central plan to destabilize and destroy western societies.

It cannot be alleged that Ms Sterling wrote her book "The Terror Network" to please the new administration in Washington, or on its orders. When she began work on the book, no-one, not even Ronald Reagan and his retinue, and even less Ms Sterling, could have known that in 1981 there would be people in power in the United States whose points of view coincided with hers. But events could not have arranged themselves better for Claire Sterling.

"A friend remarked recently that at the moment there are three categories of people in Washington: those who have always believed that the Soviet Union bears the responsibility for terrorism; others who want to believe that the Soviet Union is responsible; and the third group, who, in order to retain their influence in the administration, have to give the appearance of believing." This was said in May 1981 by an expert on questions of terrorism, Brian M. Jenkins.

Brian M. Jenkins is director of the program of research into regional political violence and intergroup conflicts in the Rand Corporation. The words quoted above were taken from his review of Claire Sterling's book "The Terror Network" in THE WASHINGTON POST.

"The Terror Network" is a model of the classic style of slanderers: wherever proof is necessary and they don't have it, they insinuate that such proof exists or bring in just a part of some fact, keeping quiet about the parts that do not fit in with their intentions; and then with impatient remonstrances of an axiomatic tone they present figments of their own imagination and generalizations as absolute, established truths.

The following example shows how part of a fact is used to create the appearance of authenticity.

As part of the evidence that socialist countries provide refuge for terrorists, Claire Sterling produces the following fact in her book "The Terror Network": "Four German terrorists, wanted for the kidnapping and murder of the industrialist Hans-Martin Schleyer in 1977, were found sunbathing on a beach in Bulgaria by West German detectives." However, she made no mention of

the conclusion to this fact, which she knew very well, and which was given wide publicity in the West German press. And that is that Bulgarian security forces arrested the terrorists in question and handed them over immediately, without any formalities on the part of the authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany, something that even the allies of this western state do not do. The government in Bonn publicly expressed its warm gratitude to Bulgaria for rendering the dangerous terrorists harmless and for cooperating with West German justice. Since she failed to mention the second, and more significant part of the fact, Claire Sterling's uninformed readers are left with the impression that Bulgaria is a haven for terrorists. Such cases depend on the ill-informed general public to promote the theories of disinformers with half-truths. This case is a classic model of disinformation.

These characteristic notes in Ms Sterling's work were exposed by researchers in the West who cannot be accused of harboring sympathies toward eastern European states. When he wrote the above-mentioned review of Claire Sterling's book, Mr Jenkins was a member of the leading elite of the famous Rand research corporation, established precisely to prepare research-based versions of military and political confrontation with the socialist world for U.S. rulers. At the institution where he worked he experienced antipathy toward communism as an idea and toward the socialist states as a practice. This is clear from the terms he uses when he speaks of them. But Ms Sterling's characteristic style of disinformation, postulating groundless strategic conclusions, grates on the nerves of the careful researcher. He accurately assesses the true value of the work that she claims is based on research:

"... the theory of the book is that somehow all these terrorist groups are directly or indirectly connected with the Soviet Union," remarks the reviewer. "Moreover, Sterling implies that the Soviet Union and its eastern European, Cuban and Palestinian representatives are behind 'the terror network'. She suggests that there is premeditation on the part of the Soviet Union and its satellites."

"In reality, she never states this as a fact," Brian Jenkins emphasizes. "She suggests. She insinuates. Like a sorcerer, she conjures up the spectral form of some supreme Moscow plan, leaving the audience to its imagination to impart flesh to the illusion..."

"... If, as many believe, the 'Sterling theory' indicates the existence of a Soviet plan, Soviet direction or Soviet control (in the sphere of terrorism - author's note) then we must point out that the book does not offer any new evidence, and what it does offer does not substantiate its subject. In fact even the author's own statements are ambiguous," the reviewer concludes.

Claire Sterling has been exposed many times, sometimes delicately, sometimes directly. She has disseminated disinformation and slandered not only states but individuals. But while as a rule she has gone unpunished for slandering states and juridical persons in general, slandering individuals may bring her some unpleasantness. This has happened at least once.

It was the Henri Kuriel case. Kuriel was a highly respected Egyptian communist a renowned activist in the struggle against apartheid and a true friend of national liberation organizations. Precisely because of his wide and successful activities against apartheid and colonialism, in May 1978 he was shot on the street in Paris, where he lived. It was said that his killers were agents of BOSS, the secret service of the South African Republic.

In "The Terror Network", Claire Sterling alleged, word for word:

Every large counterintelligence organization in the West has a dossier on this man, and almost everyone in the trade who becomes acquainted with his dossier will arrive at the conclusion that he worked with the KGB."

"But will her conclusion be correct?" asks Brian Jenkins in the above-mentioned review. "She does not explain this mystery at all."

The mystery was unveiled by a court in Paris in what was, for Ms Sterling, a most unpleasant manner. In two independently filed suits, the family of Henri Kuriel and a group of his friends sued Claire Sterling for "offence to the memory of a deceased person" and "for slander". This was reported by the internationally known journalist, Wilfred Birchett, in February 1983, shortly before his death. Universally acknowledged to be well informed, he became for that reason the object of Claire Sterling's insinuations and slander in her next book. The court in Paris found her guilty on both counts and on 14 March 1982 ordered her to pay damages.

After that moment of triumph, for a long time nothing much was heard of Ms Sterling, until one fine summer morning, on 15 August 1982, the American television company CBS first rang out the news of her great new discovery: "the Bulgarian connection". The sensation was announced on the day when Claire Sterling's article "The Plot to Kill the Pope" had gone to press for the September edition of the READER'S DIGEST, in other words several days before the journal would reach its readers. The clear intention was to make as much noise as possible for the advance publicity of Ms Sterling's sensational theory. Introducing the author, the editorial staff at the journal described her as "one of the most respected journalists in Europe, American-born Claire Sterling has lived for the past three decades in Italy. Such investigative reports as her book 'The Terror Network', published last year (1981 - author's note), which Foreign Affairs called 'a landmark on questions of terrorism', brought Sterling international fame. They also opened for her the doors to primary information sources available to few in her field."

It became clear later, from her own description of her tour through Turkey, West Germany, Italy, Tunisia and other countries, that these doors led to the secret services of the countries mentioned and others that she visited while following the "Bulgarian trail", to interested self-seeking politicians, to highly placed "propaganda investments" and those wishing to be numbered with them and with the underground world. From her own descriptions in "The Time of the Assassins" of her meeting behind the doors of the secret services, we are left with the impression that in most places they greeted her coolly; the

more professional the respective spy organization, the more coolly they greeted her.

She was greeted warmly only at SISMI (the Italian military intelligence), which became notorious through the connections of a number of its leaders to the conspiratory lodge P-2, the black fascist terrorists, the Red Brigade, various mafia clans and the arms and drug smugglers.

But this secret service is more famous for the exploits of its leading professionals in the internal political intrigues and plots of the ultra-right in Italy and for its corrupt connections to the underworld than for its achievements in intelligence and counterespionage. As they wove the web for "the Bulgarian connection", the weavers at SISMI left rather a lot of loose ends. In this web, the accusers did not so much catch as entangle a rather unsuccessful case, tossed up from outside, with which the court in Rome is beating its brains out. Is it strange that "the West German and Israeli intelligence and security services that work closely with their Italian colleagues... believe that the Italian secret services are not top quality", as the special correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, Henry Camm, reported from Jerusalem on 17 December 1982. Henry Camm's despatch disturbed Claire Sterling, who cited it on page 163 of "The Time of the Assassins" as a model of officially encouraged disinformation, intended to cover up the Bulgarians' trail.

Claire Sterling refuted Henry Camm's report by quoting from the article "The Bulgarian Trail and the Media" by her friend Michael Ledine, published in the June edition of the American journal Commentary in 1983. This open member of the group Super-S at SISMI, known as agent Z-3 (Espresso, 9 December 1984), alleged that on 2 January 1983, a high-ranking Israeli soldier had told him just the opposite of what Henry Camm had reported.

But who is Michael Ledine that we should take his work against the word of the experienced American reporter Henry Camm? The following incident describes quite well the degree of reliability of the allegations of this "senior researcher on international problems at the Center for Strategic Research at Georgetown University".

On 18 April 1985 the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE reprinted an article by Michael Ledine from the Los Angeles Times, entitled "The Lessons of Grenade must be applied to Nicaragua", in which he alleged that in confiscated documents of the government of Grenada, which had been overthrown by the landing of American naval troops, a report had been found of a conversation between the Soviet marshal Nikolay Ogarkov and the then chief of staff in Grenada. Michael Ledine quotes a statement ascribed to the Soviet marshal to the effect that the Soviet Union incited revolutions and established socialist regimes in Central America. Michael Ledine provides this quotation as proof of the Great Plot. But let's see how reliable this evidence is that he puts forward.

On 26 April 1985, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE carried a letter from someone called Greg Chamberlain in Paris. It becomes clear from the contents of the letter that Mr Chamberlain, probably an American, is no less acquainted

with the confiscated Grenadian documents than Michael Ledine. As he quotes word for word from Ledine's article concerning the alleged statement of the Soviet marshall, and juxtaposes the corresponding paragraph from the actual text of the report in question, Mr Chamberlain states: "This and other such distortions and insinuations in Mr Ledine's article are a sorry expression of the shallowness of the author's theory.

So much for the reliability of Michael Ledine, close friend and collaborator of Pazienza at SISMI, whom Claire Sterling quotes in order to save the honor of the Italian secret services.

But even Claire Sterling herself has failed to connect the loose ends in the abortive web woven by SISMI. And since these ends are hanging in a rather striking manner, she finds herself obliged to point to them herself, fearing, with good cause, that if she remains silent someone else will put them on show, thereby damaging the cogency of her major work on "the Bulgarian trail".

"In popular criminal novels, foreign agents who deal in "wet work" (murder - author's note) do not as a rule invite their hired assistants to their homes, we read on page 149 of "The Time of the Assassins". "Paid professional killers, especially those like Agca, who are known irrepressible braggarts, are not told almost a year ahead of time what their assignment is. Nor are they sent to kill with five hopelessly incriminating telephone numbers in their pockets.

[11 Sep 85 pp 9,10]

[Text] There are two possible explanations for these facts, which Ms Sterling puts forward with indisputable logic:

"Agca may lie, which unfortunately is well known, that he did it because 'someone' told him to, in exchange perhaps for cosmetic surgery, a new personality, money and freedom." (Claire Sterling, "The Time of the Assassins", p 149-150.)

Even in Claire Sterling's book this explanation sounds convincing. But after giving the explanation, and thereby showing how objective she is, she passes over it, paying no more attention to it, to take up the other, clearly unconvincing explanation: "If, however, he is not lying, then the Bulgarian secret services are clumsy, not to say incompetent." (Ibid, p 150.)

For the tasks that she has set herself with her latest book, the first explanation is naturally quite unacceptable. Yet the second clearly contradicts everything else that Claire Sterling argues in other places in her book concerning the exceptional abilities of the Bulgarian secret services, their incredible successes in undermining western societies and all the NATO states and their all-embracing network in Italy, etc., qualities for which they themselves were chosen by the incomparable KGB to organize and execute the intricate plot.

But even if we accept Claire Sterling's preferred explanation as plausible, how do we persuade ourselves that the KGB would exhibit such dangerous

negligence, not to say incompetence, by entrusting the "clumsy, not to mention incompetent, Bulgarians" with what she calls the crime of the century. Until now, it has not occurred to anyone to allege that the KGB, which, according to Ms Sterling, has even succeeded in placing its "moles" (in Langley's professional jargon "a deeply planted agent") in the operational leadership of the CIA, is incompetent.

Scrupulous specialists in the West also see inconsistencies in the hypothesis of "the Bulgarian connection" and, true to their professionalism, they point them out. We have already mentioned one of these specialists, Brian Jenkins of the Rand Corporation. Another such specialist is Edward Jay Epstein, who reviewed Claire Sterling's book "The Time of the Assassins" and Paul Henze's parallel book "The Plot to Kill the Pope" for the NEW YORK TIMES Book Review (15 January 1984). That E.J. Epstein is a specialist researcher in the sphere of secret services and dirty tricks has been confirmed by half a dozen books that he has published on this subject. It is clear from his writings that he harbors no sympathies toward the KGB and the Soviet Union in general. Nevertheless, he is unable to stomach it when they try to make a monkey out of him by foisting clearly inconsistent propaganda pieces on him.

"Although evidence must be supported by external circumstances in order to be accepted as proof, both of them (Claire Sterling and Paul Henze - author's note) insist that their evidence is beyond all doubt," remarks E.J. Epstein, systematically exposing the inconsistencies in the hypothesis of "the Bulgarian connection".

"If the Bulgarians really controlled the Turkish fanatics who assisted and paid Agca in Rome, as the authors allege, it would be totally superfluous for the Bulgarian diplomats to invite Mr Agca to their homes for tea, to reconnoitre in St. Peter's Square with him, to hand him a pistol and to drive him in their own car to the scene of the crime. The Turkish go-betweens... would have been able to do all that without involving the Bulgarians."

"That was a time when Bulgarian spies must have expected to be under strict surveillance by Italian and other security services. They must have known that they could be the object of sudden checks by "hooks" and that they were photographed or electronically bugged in their own homes. If they nevertheless dealt personally with Agca, they must have chosen intentionally to take an exceptional and unjustifiable risk."

"The Sterling-Henze hypothesis does not in any way explain why the Bulgarians would have taken such unjustifiable risks or, moreover, why they would leave Mr Antonov, Mr Agca's presumed companion, in Rome nineteen months after Agca had been captured."

As a matter of fact even the examining magistrate, Dr Ilario Martella, does not give a reasonable explanation for all these pending questions in the enormous indictment, with which he sent the three Bulgarians to court.

At War with the CIA

The Bulgarians are not the only object of Ms Sterling's research fury. However paradoxical it may seem, she also hurls bitter attacks against the CIA. The reason, it seems, is that the CIA decided not to support, or intentionally refused to support her credo for "the Bulgarian connection" and even stood in the way of her investigations.

Such an accusation seems absurd, the more so since many are convinced that "the Bulgarian trail" started at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. But it is precisely here that Claire Sterling uncovered the second plot in the attempt against the Pope.

According to her, if the first was the Bulgarian plot to kill the pope, the second was the CIA plot to cover up the role of the Bulgarians and Soviets in the assassination and to wipe out their traces. The reason for this was so as not to hinder the normal progress of relations between Washington and Moscow, which would have been impossible if it had been established that the order to kill the pope had come from the Kremlin. So alleges Ms Sterling at least, and just at a time when Washington was looking for all kinds of grounds for confrontation with Moscow and when, due to the American administration's political course, Soviet-American relations had reached a particularly low point.

As we mentioned above, consistency is not a characteristic feature of Ms Sterling's conclusions, so we should not be surprised at this lapse of hers. But she needs this conclusion to explain the profound scepticism expressed repeatedly by agents of the CIA with regard to the hypothesis of "the Bulgarian connection" and to justify the whole Italian accusation against the Bulgarians.

The case is not as strange and inexplicable as it seems. In fact, the political leaders of the CIA in the Reagan administration were at first delighted with "the Bulgarian trail". Claire Sterling herself states that, up until February 1983, the conviction of Reagan's director at the CIA, the nonprofessional William Casey, was unshakable and was strengthened even more after Senator Alfonse D'Amato's return from Rome. ("The Time of the Assassins", p 192.)

Her allegation that the Americans missed this opportunity for anti-Soviet propaganda is not true. As if the noise about "the Bulgarian trail" wasn't raised first of all in the famous article in *READER'S DIGEST* by Claire Sterling herself, the freelance American journalist who resides permanently in Italy, several months after the Italian investigator had already begun to move in this direction. Afterwards, the folk in the anti-Bulgarian campaign were joined by such powerful voices as that of Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former presidential adviser on questions of security, Michael Tewitts, former American ambassador to Moscow, Richard Helms, former CIA director at the time of its dirtiest numbers, and a whole pleiade of other former idols and those with claims to future grandeur.

But this time, clearly even the professional provocateurs in the CIA felt that the opportunity provided by the legend of "the Bulgarian connection" was

perhaps not so good as a base for an international level, anti-Soviet operation; that such a provocation might even backfire on its own perpetrators. Since the non-professionals in this sphere could see the loose ends in the tangle of "the Bulgarian connection", what about the CIA experts of this type of operation. And in that establishment there were paid spies who were there before the present American administration came to power and who believe that they will be there after the present political leaders of the CIA have left and been replaced with others who will be just as transient.

As a rule, professionals do not care to take unjustifiable risks in uncertain operations with a dubious outcome, as was the case with "the Bulgarian connection". They know from experience that when something goes wrong it's the executors that get the worst of it, not their political leaders. Is it strange that in the Bulgarian case the CIA professionals, particularly those on the spot--the CIA resident in Rome and his two assistants--warned their political bosses that the hypothesis of "the Bulgarian connection" was inconsistent and that it would be a reckless adventure that would reflect poorly on the prestige of the USA if they became directly involved in this provocation? And they expressed this point of view, not to save the cleaning up between Washington and Moscow, as Claire Sterling alleges, but because the facts, which were known to the CIA, clearly proved the worthlessness of operation "Bulgarian connection" and its possible scandalous failure.

In fact, it's comical to allege that the CIA wanted to keep quiet about "the Bulgarian connection". Although it warned of possible unpleasant consequences for direct participants following an eventual public failure of anti-Bulgarian provocation, the CIA approved and on the sly supported the campaign for "the Bulgarian connection". They did not commit themselves publicly so as not to be affected by the consequences of an eventual scandal. On the contrary, in distancing themselves publicly from "the Bulgarian connection", the CIA conferred on it greater plausibility by suggesting that it was not thought up in Langley, while simultaneously insuring themselves against the possible unpleasant consequences.

In vain, Claire Sterling accuses the CIA of hostility toward her favorite brainchild.

Claire Sterling's bitter attacks against the CIA could be explained as a manoeuvre to detract attention from the CIA's role in the anti-Bulgarian plot and, at the same time, to distance the author herself from the spy organization, in the belief that such a version of "the Bulgarian connection" would be more acceptable to a public that approaches everything connected with the CIA with a certain suspicion.

But it could also be explained by the emotionally charged old scores that Ms Sterling had to settle with "the company" that once protected her and paid her. Ms Sterling's animosity toward the CIA preceeded "the Bulgarian trail"; even before its appearance, she didn't miss an opportunity to take a hit at the agents of American espionage.

In April 1981, before the attempt on the Pope's life, Claire Sterling was acting as the star witness in the investigations of a newly formed Senate sub-



committee on questions of security and terrorism. These investigations had to back up the favorite theory of the Reagan administration, newly come to power, that terrorism throughout the world was directed from Moscow. To the question of the sub-committee president, Senator Jeremiah Deighton, whether she believed that the scepticism of the CIA and the FBI toward the allegation of the directing hand of Moscow was due to high-level infiltration of Soviet "moles" in these spy organizations, Claire Sterling replied that perhaps the FBI was not infiltrated by deeply placed Soviet agents. Ergo: the CIA is.

That was the theory of her old friend, James Jesus Engleton, long-time chief of the counter-intelligence and dirty tricks section at the CIA, until he was removed in 1974 for "inadmissible action".

Passionately refuting allegations that she was an agent of the CIA, Claire Sterling ridicules the Bulgarians on page 134 of "The Time of the Assassassins", stating that they represented her as a life-long CIA agent, recruited by James Jesus Engleton when she was still running around in gym shorts.

Gentlemen don't mention a lady's age, but as far as the "gym shorts" are concerned, in 1951 Claire Sterling had long since outgrown them. Just then, as a young bride, she found herself with her husband in Rome. The CIA resident at that time, before his promotion to head of counter-intelligence in "the company", was James Jesus Engleton. In the struggle against communism, he actively recruited "propaganda investments" from among Italian and American journalists there. But their acquaintance goes back further, to the time when, at the end of her university years, Claire Sterling was distancing herself from the Communist Party of the United States to which she belonged. The CIA student "talent scout", James Jesus Engleton, could not help but notice her. As a matter of fact, who recommended to another friend of the CIA, editor-in-chief of THE REPORTER, Italian American Max Ascoli, that he hire her for the journal that was edited by him and financed by the CIA?

Claire Sterling is probably a loyal and devoted friend. Her malice toward the CIA can be traced back to the time when James Jesus Engleton was thrown out of "the company". It was reinforced after her mentor and friend was found dead in his fishing boat, as a result of suicide. The angle at which he was shot was more suggestive of murder than suicide. It was said that they got rid of him because even in retirement he continued to hunt the Soviet "mole" in the CIA leadership. It was even said that Engleton was convinced that the "mole" he was looking for was the then director of the CIA, William Colby himself, the very man who had fired him.

From the positions taken by Ms Sterling, we have reason to think that she was aware of James Jesus Engleton's reasonings and fully shared them. She is now taking her revenge on the CIA for the loss of her friend.

#### The Force of Disinformation

"For millions of people, one minute of television news is their only source of information. When the process of disinformation begins, it becomes very difficult to establish the truth. Disinformation depends on a huge, passive

audience of people who easily accept everything, without reaction. In the West, people simply don't want to believe that they could become the victim of disinformation."

Do you recognize these words, Ms Sterling? They are from one of your interviews that was broadcast on the "Voice of America" on 18 December 1984. I subscribe to them wholeheartedly. They provide a condensed and exact picture of the roads to disinformation.

But in fact Ms Sterling does not speak of the disinformation with which she is involved. She calls disinformation the arguments brought in the legal self-defence of Bulgaria and other socialist states that are the object of slander and falsehoods, and not only apropos of the Antonov affair. These slanders and falsehoods are the trademark of Claire Sterling and the whole company of masters of disinformation who collaborate and vie with each other for more minutes on the television screens and more square inches of space on the printed page.

Isn't it a fact that, for every little minute of television news and every square inch of print that the program directors of western televisions and the editors of western newspapers stingily give to the Bulgarian position on a question that so directly affects Bulgaria, they give hundreds of hours of prime television time and thousands of square yards of print to suggestions that the leaders of "the communist states" are liars, conspirators and murderers.

Time will pass, the trial in Rome will quieten down and the Bulgarian will probably be freed. But, paraphrasing the words of Claire Sterling, "when all else has paled in the public memory, people in the West will still remember" the suggestion stuck deep in their consciousness that the Bulgarians directed the hand of the assailant who shot Pope John-Paul II. ("The Time of the Assassins", p 126.)

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW WITH VASIL BILAK

OW300721 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 28 Oct 85 pp 167-174

[Interview with CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak by editors Inge Cyrus and Klaus Reinhardt in the Prague Central Committee Building, no date given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Secretary, prior to his meeting with the U.S. President, Soviet party leader Gorbachev proposed that the Soviet Union would reduce its nuclear weapons arsenal by 50 percent if the United States were to renounce its space weapons. What results do you expect in Geneva?

Bilak: Regrettably only the Soviet side has taken initiatives. The other side is waiting for unilateral concessions. The Soviet disarmament proposals of recent years already fill a large volume. However, the Americans have always rejected them because, they said the Moscow proposals were not new, they were propaganda--just words, which must be followed by deeds.

SPIEGEL: This time the Soviet proposals were received with interest and positive comment.

Bilak: Yes, initially. Meanwhile Reagan has given interviews where he gives Gorbachev gratuitous advice. U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has said quite clearly that the United States will under no circumstances renounce its space program. Secretary of Defense Weinberger's position is certainly well known to you.

SPIEGEL: That means that you are rather pessimistic regarding Geneva?

Bilak: Experience compels us to be careful, but we, of course, are hoping for positive results. The Soviet Union doubtless will go to the talks with great peace initiatives. It wants to prevent, at any price, any further rearmament and nuclear war.

SPIEGEL: The United States, too, actually wants to prevent nuclear war.

Bilak: We would like to believe that. The Americans must come to realize that nothing good can come of efforts aimed at achieving military superiority. Then there certainly can be agreement.

SPIEGEL: Are small countries actually in a position to bring any influence to bear on the Geneva summit talks?

Bilak: The question whether the small and medium countries concerned could do something in preparation for the summit meeting depends on their position. However, we cannot lump together the socialist and the capitalist countries. The socialist countries need not urge the Soviet Union to pursue a peace policy, because the Soviet Union pursues the very policy that is in line with our desires.

SPIEGEL: Really?

Bilak: Yes. In this connection, I want to remind you of the 1983 Williamsburg conference. At the time the representatives of the highly developed capitalist states appeared with the firm intention to enforce their common interests against the Americans. However, in the end they all lined up, rank and file, and accepted Reagan's demands. Such a thing could not happen in the scope of CEMA or the Warsaw Pact.

SPIEGEL: How pleasant.

Bilak: The Soviet Union would never say to us: We are going to do it this way; anything else is out of the question.

SPIEGEL: Do all hold the same view?

Bilak: Naturally. On the other hand, in the West the peace movement people fight for peace, and how do you treat them?

SPIEGEL: Well, the members of the peace movement are people who vehemently protest against their own country's policy. Do you think it is possible to demonstrate against the Soviet SS-20's in the CSSR?

Bilak: Perhaps there are no SS-20's....

SPIEGEL: ...perhaps SS-25's?

Bilak: If missiles had been deployed in the CSSR without U.S. missiles being deployed 180 km from our border, our people could be rightly worried. However, that is not the case. Our people know that the missiles have only been deployed in the CSSR because U.S. missiles are deployed in the Federal Republic. If a thief prowls around your house do you just buy another castle, or a dog?

SPIEGEL: Mr Bilak, in a speech in Bratislava in April you compared the West's arms efforts with arming murderers and terrorists, while the socialist camp's armament was compared with arming police who provide for law and order. Were you serious?

Bilak: Every comparison is somewhat simplistic. What I mean to say is that our side does not want war and that we will attack no one, but in the event of a threat we need to have certain weapons for our defense.

SPIEGEL: Everyone says that. The deployment of missiles has led to a number of countermeasures by your socialist neighbors. For example, Romania suggested an immediate freeze on counterarmament by both sides. Bulgaria has stated that it will not deploy any missiles. In talks with the Federal Republic, the GDR is trying to find concrete ways to limit the damage. The CSSR is the only country to maintain a wait-and-see attitude. Why?

Bilak: You can believe me that we do coordinate our policy within the scope of the Warsaw Pact. For example, Bulgaria's situation is entirely different from ours. We are on the border of the Western world. If our country were Bulgaria, we would probably have the same policy.

SPIEGEL: Do you agree to the fact that Bulgaria deploys no missiles?

Bilak: Of course.

SPIEGEL: Do you also agree to what Romania is doing?

Bilak: Romania is doing nothing contrary to our interests. Do you believe that all socialist states should hold the same views?

SPIEGEL: We do not believe that at all. However, we are surprised. When the GDR and Hungary showed the slightest move toward a somewhat more independent foreign policy about a year ago, the Czechoslovak daily RUDE PRAVO had strong objections. At difficult times, it wrote, no socialist country was allowed to pursue its own course.

Bilak: RUDE PRAVO did not write it the way you are saying it. For us it is a matter of course that every socialist country advances to socialism in its own way. You see, no one wants to enforce a unified Soviet model in Eastern Europe.

SPIEGEL: Are you sure?

Bilak: Take us, for example. Several socialist countries changed their national flag. We did not. Several countries changed their national anthem. We did not. Several countries changed their coat of arms. We were satisfied with a small alteration: our lion is still a lion. Briefly, everyone of us builds his own house. Whether it is large or small, with or without a porch, with large or small windows, only depends on the respective site and the respective forces. It is a matter of architecture. However, the foundation must be the same in all cases, otherwise the house might collapse.

SPIEGEL: What do you mean by foundation?

Bilak: Nationalization of the means of production, the leading position of the worker class and its vanguard, the communist party, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, friendship with the Soviet Union, and efforts to unify the socialist community.

SPIEGEL: The custodian of that ideology, CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev, has not only taken initiatives in internationally, but he has also set the tone for domestic policy with his campaign against corruption and alcoholism. Will there also be changes in the CSSR?

Bilak: To begin with, it is wrong to talk about a "new tone." Comrade Gorbachev only demands that his citizens observe those norms of Soviet society that were valid under Lenin. That also applies to the struggle against corruption. Corruption does not originate in our system.

SPIEGEL: Aha.

Bilak: It is a remainder of the bourgeois era, even though you may doubt that.

SPIEGEL: Other socialist states have long dropped this palliative thesis.

Bilak: I do not think that you are right. Eleven years ago, at the Central Committee plenum, in November 1974, the CSSR decided to take tough measures against corruption. Since then, many people have been sentenced and struck off the rolls of party members. What Comrade Gorbachev is implementing is totally in line with our efforts.

SPIEGEL: So there is no forced campaign against corruption and alcoholism in the CSSR. Are there fewer "Bourgeois remainders" in your country?

Bilak: I think your question is not formulated correctly. You cannot conduct a campaign from a desk. It is a long-term educational process during which people must learn what harms society, themselves and their families. Naturally we still have many bourgeois remainders. How often have I had [to] remind myself that some things will eventually pass.

SPIEGEL: Is the enormous beer consumption in the CSSR decreasing at all?

Bilak: No, beer is a bread for us.

SPIEGEL: Mr Bilak, the Soviet Union is primarily concerned with making its economy more efficient. Several Eastern European countries, including the Soviet Union, have at the same time come to the conclusion that the instruments of a planned economy are no longer adequate for modern development. Why is the CSSR hanging on to centralized control of the economy?

Bilak: The truth is that central planning will always continue everywhere. Nobody is abolishing it, not the Soviet Union, or any other socialist state. Basic questions such as investments or prices must be resolved centrally. Certainly, the question is raised as to what will control central planning in the future.

SPIEGEL: What is your answer?

Bilak: We are also searching for the most effective methods. We pay great attention to what others do; we monitor their experiments so that we can copy

the positive aspects. But we do not rush into anything headlong. It is often said that people in the CSSR are lazy, but our 15 million people produce 15 million tons of steel, 116 million pairs of shoes, 10 million tons of cement. We mine 127 million tons of coal. We build 100,000 to 200,000 apartments. Could loafers manage all that? Could our people do that lying in bed?

SPIEGEL: Certainly not. However, cement and steel is also produced by developing countries such as by India and Nigeria. Don't you doubt that your proud production list still offers the right things in 1985? Why does the CSSR not produce computers instead of steel, or semiconductors instead of cement?

Bilak: A legitimate question; however, we cannot do without steel and cement either. We have been working for years on structural change. We have done much in that respect. However, it takes time. You cannot change mature structures from one day to the next. In addition, we must overcome the Western technology embargo. I do not say that we will succeed in 1-2 years. However, sooner or later we will succeed.

SPIEGEL: Mr Bilak, let us return from the distant future to the distant past. In August 1968 you belonged to the 40 top-ranking functionaries who asked the Soviet Union for "brotherly help" against the reformist course. Now 17 years have passed. Why are Soviet troops still in the country?

Bilak: They are here on the basis of a treaty concluded between the two governments. U.S. troops are in the FRG and in other Western European countries. When U.S. troops leave Western European territory, the Soviets will leave the CSSR. I am convinced of it. However, I don't know where you got the 40 top-ranking functionaries from.

SPIEGEL: Was it only 38?

Bilak: When the time is right, we will open the archives. Then you will learn how many there were.

SPIEGEL: Must we really wait for the archives? We consider you a central figure, maybe even the organizer of the requested help from Moscow, and we are more interested in your description.

Bilak: Central Committee members were among them and members of the presidium, government, and parliament. I want particularly to stress that the Soviet appearance was not intervention, but truly brotherly help.

SPIEGEL: Absolutely selfless....

Bilak: Help was necessary. Without it Czechoslovakia would have gotten into civil war. It is not so hard to assess what would have happened then in Europe and in the world.

SPIEGEL: Civil war? In the summer of 1968 we saw masses of people cheering the party.

Bilak: Do you remember the conference of the Warsaw Pact member states in the early days of August 1968? I will tell you something now that I have not told anybody. The session's document was not worked out by experts, as is usual. Party and government chiefs got together personally, formulating, sentence by sentence, the idea that the CSSR was threatened by counterrevolutionary overthrow, and that it was our common duty to defend socialist achievements.

Thereafter it was signed by all delegations, including the Czechoslovak delegation--Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Cernik, and me. I do not know why people in the West later began writing about the so-called Brezhnev doctrine. Unfortunately, our leadership broke its word, deciding to act against its promises. Something like that is intolerable, even among horse traders.

In politics and especially among allies, it is impossible. Therefore the people you called top-ranking functionaries appealed to Moscow. Thousands of CSSR citizens approached the CPCZ Central Committee, feeling seriously alarmed. Did you know that in early August 1968 preparations were being made to set up concentration camps for the adversaries of rightist forces in Czechoslovakia?

SPIEGEL: No, we never heard of that.

Bilak: We did not make it public because people would have demanded, and rightly, the most serious punishment for those who planned them. However, we wanted a political settlement. As is known, nobody in Czechoslovakia had to face trial because of his counterrevolutionary activity.

SPIEGEL: The so-called "political solution" was a hard punishment for many people. They were ousted from the party and they lost their positions. Even today, hundreds of thousands cannot work, at least in their former positions, because they sympathized with the 1968 reformers.

Bilak: That is most untrue. Hundreds of thousands of people were not involved at all. However, I admit there are directors, ministers, or high-ranking officers who no longer work in their former positions. They did not stand the political test. If a good singer loses his voice, he cannot sing in the opera anymore. If a world champion highjumper injures his leg, he cannot jump anymore. That is how it is. Those people in the FRG who publicly act against state policy probably cannot work in the state employee apparatus anymore or elsewhere in a responsible position.

SPIEGEL: Mr Bilak, we could add up names and fates. We could speak of cases of arrests of whole families in the CSSR that are incomprehensible for us. More important seems the basic question to us: Why did Czechoslovakia not go the Hungarian way, where party chief Janos Kadar won over those who had a different opinion of how to build the state? Why does a small country such as Czechoslovakia renounce cooperation with the spiritual elite?

Bilak: What you formulated in the beginning of your question is distorted. I repeat that in Czechoslovakia the counterrevolution was liquidated by political means. None of the counterrevolutionaries who had organized the putsch, who had intentionally prepared the civil war, had to face trial. You



will hardly find a similar case in the world. Unfortunately, some people did not realize that this was generosity by a socialist state, and so they continue their provocations.

I do not know what spiritual elite you are talking about. Not one really significant and recognized scientific, artistic, cultural, economic, or political personality has left the republic. I do not know where you get that we renounced cooperation.

As for the next part of your question: I am glad to note that you like our friends and neighbors, the Hungarians. I am also very glad that Comrade Kadar enjoys such great prestige. But you could be a bit more objective in your assessment of our achievements, which are indeed recognized by the broad masses. What are the principles, anyway, by which you judge our system's quality?

SPIEGEL: The principles of Rosa Luxemburg: Freedom is, above all, freedom for those who dissent. You yourself said conditions in the CSSR were "normalized" a long time ago. Why does the party always react so nervously to every word of criticism? Do you consider a pluralist society absolutely inconceivable under communism?

Bilak: Certain people in the West obviously do not want to understand that a new social order has really developed. The transition from capitalism to socialism is logically effected. It is no error of history, as the U.S. president has said. It is the reality of history. Therefore, the restoration of the forms of bourgeois pluralism would be an anachronism for us, even cheating.

We proceed from our historic experience. Pluralism in the bourgeois republic prior to Munich in 1938 was a total failure. It did not guarantee the existence of the state, social justice, or justice for nationalities. We have a higher form of political system than bourgeois pluralism.

SPIEGEL: The CPCZ congress is scheduled for the spring of 1986. In the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev separated the office of party leader from that of state president. Is such a separation also planned for the CSSR, where Gustav Husak holds both functions?

Bilak: I do not see any necessity for that. Gustav Husak is a qualified and healthy man. He enjoys high authority and is the most qualified person for those functions.

SPIEGEL: Do you personally expect to be assigned new tasks by the party congress?

Bilak: I really do not worry about that.

SPIEGEL: You do not worry, but perhaps you have hopes?

Bilak: I just do not deal with that.

SPIEGEL: Mr Bilak, we thank you for this talk.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAKES SEEN AS HUSAK REPLACEMENT IN 1986

Luxembourg LUXEMBURGER WORT in German 3 Oct 85 p 19

[Article by R. Stroebinger]

[Text] Milan Jakes, born in 1922 in Southern Bohemia, has always wanted to be elegant and well-groomed. Even as first deputy director of the Central Administration for the Local Economy, an unimportant position which he held in the early 60's, he patronized the custom tailor shop on the "Black Rose" Prague Arcade near Wenceslas Place. In the meantime Jakes, who was promoted to membership in the party presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and secretary of the Central Committee, changed his tailor a few years ago. After he had succeeded in jumping to the highest bodies, he is entitled--as corresponds to the custom of the communist hierarchy--to a personal master tailor. And Milan Jakes savors both: The advantages that the entry into the party hierarchy brought him as well as the political power of the--thus far--third most powerful man of the country.

But this, too, is to change soon. Milan Jakes--those familiar with the Prague political scene claim to know--is singled out for even higher goals. At the 17th party congress of the Czechoslovak communists in March 1986 he is to be chosen the new party general secretary as successor to the almost 10 years older Gustav Husak. An unexpected climax to his political career, undoubtedly even for Jakes.

He had started rather inconspicuously. Shortly before World War II Jakes arrived in the shoe metropolis of Zlin where he started an apprenticeship as an electrician in the well known Bata shoe works. But already a year later he was able to study at the Zlin school of engineering with the help of a scholarship from "capitalist" Bata reviled by the communists; he completed his studies in 1944. Immediately after the end of the war, the design engineer Jakes joined the communist party which delegated him as a reliable young communist to leading positions in the communist-oriented youth association. During the darkest period of the Stalin era, in April 1949, Milan Jakes became a member of the presidium of the youth association, a position that he held until 1955. Found worthy by Soviet "advisers," he was permitted to study at the CPSU party academy in Moscow, studies that he successfully completed three years later.

Considering that he was a graduate of the Moscow party academy, surprisingly he did not climb the ladder of success fast. Not until 1966 did something appear to change in the life of the communist Jakes. He was appointed deputy minister of the interior. Even though he was "only" competent for the national committees, organs of the local administration, but as deputy minister of the interior he was also fully familiar with the activities of the state security service domestically and in foreign countries.

It was precisely the knowledge of the security apparatus which opened the door to the party apparatus to him in the "Prague Spring" of 1968. When Alexander Dubcek looked for a new chairman of the party central control and audit commission, his choice was Milan Jakes. The apparatchik, who, in Dubcek's opinion, was regarded as an unknown quantity, had the trust of the Soviets but he had not participated in the now criticized "deformations" in the past. The fact that Jakes quickly forget the loyalty to his sponsor Dubcek--when his career was involved--the Dubcek who had fallen out of favor could soon feel by himself. It was Jakes who proposed expelling Alexander Dubcek from the communist party.

The connections with the State Security Service paid off for Milan Jakes. The Soviet KGB and its then chief, Yuriy Andropov, pushed his rise to the party presidium and to the position of Central Committee secretary. Andropov's death and the Chernenko era seemed to slow down his career. His rival, the dogmatist Vasil Bilak, achieved a slight advantage. But Chernenko's early death also brought about the change in Prague. Mikhail Gorbachev, who in the USSR backs the State Security Service, supports Milan Jakes. In Prague they are convinced that the course has been set for the Husak succession. Milan Jakes is the big favorite--Vasil Bilak the big loser.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POLICE DEMANDING STRICTER MEASURES AGAINST RELIGION

Luxembourg LUXEMBURGER WORT in German 27 Sep 85 p 12

[Article by Wolfgang Broer, Vienna: "Police and Secret Service Demand Measures Against Growing Religiousness; Secret Conference in Bratislava; Appeal to Government and Interior Ministry; Cause: Sastina Pilgrimage With 40,000 Participants]

[Text] The tremendously increased interest in church festivities and pilgrimages in the CSSR has now called the dogmatic forces within the party leadership into action: A short time ago a secret conference of high officers of the STB state security service and of the police took place in Bratislava. The deliberations were concluded with an appeal to the government and the interior ministry to take more resolute action in the future against "religious manifestations."

According to information of the usually well informed Vienna "Kathpress" news agency, the security officers at their Bratislava conference particularly complained that with the tremendous influx of believers to church events, the thus far usual security and control measures are by far no longer adequate. Also in terms of personnel the security forces, it is claimed, are overtaxed and the duties assigned to them can no longer be handled. Therefore the interior ministry and the government must prepare a new set of measures and instructions which are to provide a basis for preventing "religious manifestations" in the future.

The direct cause for the secret conference in Bratislava was the pilgrimage on 14 and 15 September in Sastina (West Slovakia). In past years only a few thousand people had participated in this pilgrimage for the Virgin Mary. However, this time there were 40,000 people, of which, according to Slovak church estimates, roughly 80 percent of the participants were youths.

The pilgrimage had been marked by declarations of fidelity to the Pope. Banners were carried with the inscription "We Want the Pope." This was a reminder by the pilgrims that a planned visit of the Holy Father to the Methodius festivities in Velerahd this summer was stopped by the objection of the state authorities. Even at the Methodius festivities there had been calls and banners for the Pope.

The Sastina pilgrims also expressed loudly and repeatedly their solidarity with the 72-year-old Bishop Julius Gabris of Trnava, who--ill and almost blind--is constantly put under pressure by the CSSR authorities. At the mass in Sastina, Gabris, who celebrated the mass jointly with four priests, called upon the Catholics "not to be afraid to believe."

Even before the Sastina pilgrimage there had been complaints about the increase in "religious activities" among the youth. The controlled media also admitted that the share of believers, contrary to the predictions of the party, "does not decline but rather appears to increase."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, AUGUST 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 8, Aug 85 (signed to press 11 Jul 85)  
pp 674, 768

[Summary of an article by Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and SED Central Committee secretary. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Legal, Political Bases of SED Program Extolled," in this report]

[Text] State and Law in the Continuing Development of the Advantages and Motive Forces of Socialist Society

From the speech at the political science and jurisprudence conference on 26 and 27 June 1985 excerpts are published which--derived from the peace struggle and the requirements presenting themselves in implementation of the SED's economic strategy--deal with the substance, target and direction of the further consolidation of our political and legal order, the revised law on the local people's representations, and the demands placed on the political and law scientists.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, member of the SED's Central Auditing Commission, director of the SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board; pp 708-713]

[Text] Testimonials for Creative Revolutionary Advances

The "speeches and essays" by Comrade Erich Honecker, published in volumes 7 through 9, are outstanding testimonials to how our party--while taking account of changing conditions and requirements--conceives and purposefully implements its strategy aimed at the shaping of socialist society. Embracing the period from December 1979 to November 1983, they reveal to the reader the creative political and statesman-like efforts of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of the SED Central Committee, rector of the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board; pp 714-719]

[Text] About Performance and the Performance Principle

Comprehensive intensification demands paying the proper attention also to the application of the socialist performance principle. It includes the use and development of all capacities on behalf and for the benefit of society as well as the distribution in terms of quantity and quality of work performed. Firmly embedded in the management, planning and economic cost accounting system, it works as a social motive force. With it, it has a lasting influence on developing socialist thinking and on the molding of the abilities and the responsible attitude of every working person.

[Summary of Dr Horst Wambutt, SED Central Committee department chief; pp 720-726. A full translation of this article is published in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] New Demands Made on the Extraction and Refining of Energy Raw Materials

In the GDR, which has turned into one of the leading countries in extracting and refining lignite, the dominant position of lignite is being further expanded, in accordance with the SED's economic strategy, as the foundation for energy and raw material provisioning. How do the combines face the new requirements? Which tasks--especially scientific-technological ones--arise for a more efficacious extracting and further refining of lignite, and what is to be done for making better use of the other energy raw materials employed in our economy?

[Summary of article by Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee and minister of culture; pp 727-732. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Proletarian National Culture Characterized," in this report]

[Text] The People's Culture

The continuing development of socialist national culture--the outcome and coshaping force of the revolutionary transformations in our country--in conformity with the requirements for the 1980's calls for a purposeful further development of its characteristics on still broader a basis. How can we enhance, through systematic cooperation of state executives with all social forces, the cultural level of the workers class and all working people and deepen the relationship of trust between our party, the socialist state and the creators of culture in all sectors?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Cultural and Art Sciences of the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 733-738]

[Text] . . "Acquire If Your Would Possess It"

The author pursues the question: How does inheriting function in socialist society? He describes this as a process of great society-molding and culture-forming significance amounting to the appropriation of the society's historic sense of identity and that of the class and of the individual in daily dealing with cultural values handed on historically. Through such a "dialogue with history" we capture and sense what we are. What remains to be done to make more of the wealth of our legacy as a gain in historical consciousness, homeland sentiment and feeling for the world, beauty and joy in life, under men's ordinary living conditions?

[Summary of article by Horst Siebeck, economist, political staff-member at the SED Central Committee; pp pp 739-744]

[Text] Korean Democratic People's Republic--40 Years of Pursuing Democracy and Socialism

Forty years after its liberation from the yoke of Japanese militarism and after the founding of the Korean Labor Party, the fraternal Korean people, toughened through decades of resistance struggle against the colonial power of Japan and through the heroic struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their puppets, can review the proud balance-sheet of its advances. A flourishing socialist country grew out of the debris left of Washington's dirty war which, through close ties with the Soviet Union and all other socialist states, is working for peace and social progress.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Dieter Klein, dean for social sciences at Humboldt University, Berlin; pp 745-750]

[Text] Strategies in Imperialist Reaction to Sharper Economic Crisis Processes

The economic development of real capitalism today is marked by a quantitative and qualitative growth of its crisis processes and the close linkage between the cyclical and general crises. Among the chief strategic components in the imperialist reaction to this development are its most aggressive circles' confrontation and arms buildup policy, the forceful high tech development and a pronounced socio-reactionary turn. The long-term outcome of these strategies, however, will be a further exacerbation of the contradictions in that system, a sharpening of social conflicts and struggles.



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LEGAL, POLITICAL BASES OF SED PROGRAM EXTOLLED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 8, Aug 85 (signed to press 11 Jul 85)  
pp 688-704

[Article by Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and SED Central Committee secretary: "State and Law in the Continuing Development of the Advantages and Motive Forces of Socialist Society"]

[Text] The 10th Central Committee session paved a clear and safe way in the truest sense of the word for continuing our preparations for the 11th SED Congress. As Comrade Erich Honecker underscored, our people expect us to defend their right to a life in peace and freedom based on socialist production relations with the same circumspection and determination as last year and ensure, through promoting their will to performance, another upswing in their prosperity.

Fourteen years have passed these days since the Eighth SED Congress. Typical of developments since then has been that the purpose of socialism to do everything for the good of the people and the happiness of man became more perceptible than ever for everyone. Political stability, economic dynamism and the united economic and social policies--those are the cornerstones in this development. The results of our labor and the optimistic and progressive atmosphere in our republic are once more attesting to the firm unity between the party, the government and the people. This is the basis for our successes, which at the same time have their repercussions on the all-round strengthening of socialism here on German soil. The people's firm confidence in the policy of the SED, its Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, speaks most eloquently for our party's leadership qualities.

Fifteen years are left till we reach the turn of the millenium. The point was made at the 10th Central Committee session that our deliberations and planning already anticipate that period. In reviewing our successful advances through the last one and a half decades, and considering that our rate of development will continue year after year through the next 15 years as well, we can surely anticipate a new and still more productive period of work and approach the year 2000 with confidence. From the vantage point of the 10th Central Committee session--from the treasure of experiences conveyed there--we can clearly see what has to be done today. And we also see more clearly what this our republic will be like tomorrow thanks to the efforts of the people under our party's leadership.

## The SED Program Determines the Substance, Goal and Direction of the Further Consolidation of Our Political and Legal Order

In the party program we find a reliable guide for the continuing implementation of the socialist revolution in our country. It stands up as a strategy for shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. On its basis there takes place successfully the interacting interlinkage of all aspects of our public life, the further extension of the material-technical base by way of comprehensive production intensification, the use of the modern science and technology data, the further perfecting of socialist production relations and the development of social relations based thereon.

In his speeches before the first SED kreis secretaries, at the 12th FDJ Parliament, at the Eighth Construction Conference and at the 10th Central Committee session, Comrade Erich Honecker brought out vividly that the GDR's dynamic domestic and foreign development has raised new requirements while it has created fine conditions for the continued implementation of our party program. An analysis of experiences thus far confirms the insight in the SED program that the shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. That underscores the magnitude of demands for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and points to the responsibility the social scientists have for solving the revolutionary tasks in our country.

From this vantage point it is politically significant that the political and law scientists on the way to the 11th party congress review their work and confer on the requirements resulting from the development of all public sectors for strengthening the socialist political and legal order in the GDR. Through the fast development of the productive forces and the further shaping of public relations, socialism now enters a new phase in its development. That, naturally, affects all social processes while it also increases the political and law scientists' responsibility for creating the requisite science lead in their fields.

Everyone understands that the socialist state, the chief instrument of the working people under working class leadership, exercises a key role in these developments. Without a strong, well functioning and reliably protected socialist state, there is no socialism. This basic truth of the socialist revolution was described as follows by Comrade Erich Honecker: "Power comes first and foremost. Without power, the working class with its allies could not have converted the decisive means of production into public property, could not have laid the foundations of socialism. Also to be able to fulfil the main task for the benefit of all the people it needs assured power."\*

GDR history proves that we have always paid the greatest attention to the matters of the state and the revolution. Never did we leave any doubt about the class character of our GDR as a workers and farmers state which simultaneously

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\*"Comrade Erich Honecker: SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress," "Protokoll des IX. Parteitages der SED" [Ninth SED Congress Proceedings], Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 124-125.

represents the interests of all the people. Whatever the bourgeoisie and its ideologues may want to bring up against the dictatorship of the proletariat, all their assaults must ultimately founder on the facts of our accomplishments.

The fact is that under SED leadership and on behalf of all working people, the dictatorship of the proletariat as brought to realization in our GDR has created the first and thus far only German state in which the people in the truest sense of the word are the supreme sovereign. Here labor and the people's trust sustain the state because this state is identical with the will of the people. Here the substance of all politics is dominated by the irrevocable principle: Everything with the people, through the people, for the people!

We learned from Marx, Engels and Lenin not to toy with democracy. It never was to us a formality, but always an integrating task in the struggle for social revolution. To us democracy is always concrete. It is always gauged against what it is in the proper sense of the word: people's government. Remember in this context what Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed as long ago as in December 1945, after 12 years of fascist dictatorship and his long years in a penitentiary, at the first working session of the youth commissions of Berlin at large. He said then: The value of our democracy depends on "the extent to which our people's working strata responsibly take part in public life, in boosting production, distributing the goods produced, and directing the state."\*

Another fact is that under the leadership by our Marxist-Leninist party in a confident alliance with all parties and mass organizations, in our workers and farmers state a power was created for the first time in German history that not only proclaims but guarantees day after day work, education, social security and equal chances for all as fundamental human rights. Not profit, but the well-being of man is the decisive motive force for society here. Here every citizen enjoys equal rights and equal duties, regardless of his ideological or religious ties, of his nationality or race.

Another fact is that under the leadership by the most successful party in German history, the SED, and in firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, a German state was created from which for the first time not the danger of war emanates, but always new initiatives emanate for peaceful coexistence. Here, on behalf of all the peoples of Europe, the preservation of peace is not only a constitutional mission, but everyday political practice. Here all forces interested in peace always find a reliable ally.

However much our enemies beyond our western borders may seek to deny these facts by defamation and demagoguery, the magnitude of our accomplishments defies them. That which really exists cannot be refuted by unreal arguments. And if they say these words are all too lofty, we only can tell them that we have never slighted our work. On German soil here we are fulfilling the historic mission of the workers class, adumbrated already in the Communist

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\*Erich Honecker, "Youth as Active Participant in the Construction of an Antifascist-Democratic Order," "Zur Jugendpolitik der SED" [On SED Youth Policy], Vol I, Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1985, pp 18-19.

Manifesto. The meaning of socialism lies in the realization of the loftiest of social goals: doing everything for the good of man. That is the historic mission of socialism. Nothing and no one will at any time or under any circumstances divert us from that.

Among the factors that made us strong is the creative application of the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction. We have used them always in an undetachable fusion with concrete national givens. Working class power and working class leadership by the party, based on the public ownership of the means of production, our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and our alliance with the community of socialist states are the guarantee for our successful present and the secure draft on the communist future.

The unity between the national and the international in our state policy is shown most conspicuously by our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. Comrades Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev during their Moscow meeting confirmed their joint resolve to deepen the relations between our parties both on the governmental and social level. So we are using our peoples and are strengthening the socialist positions in the world. The unity and cohesiveness of the community of socialist states is a task of primary historic dimension for fully developing all intellectual and material potentials of socialism and, hence, for its peace-promoting mission.

An incomparable advantage of socialism is that our social order gives us a society free from class antagonisms. Freed from exploitation, man's work serves all society and each individual. Under such socioeconomic conditions our workers and farmers power implements its policy for the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace. For shaping the developed socialist society, central state management and the creative initiative of the people's masses are a prerequisite of principle. Tried and tested in practice is democratic centralism with its two components, democratic mass participation and centralized management.

They cannot be separated from each other, as we all know. They are no contradictions, they exist in reciprocally conditioned unity. No other term but democratic centralism can express the essence of our democracy more clearly, can better characterize the principles for the construction, cooperation and activity of all organs of socialist state power than this category, intrinsic to Marxism-Leninism.

Skilled central management, oriented to the working people's interests, promotes the masses' initiative-rich participation in solving political and social tasks while creative mass activity, simultaneously, enriches the political leadership activity. In this dialectical conditioning, democratic centralism has proven a stabilizing and mobilizing element of our development. Its consistent implementation in all phases of our development is one of the essential roots for the successful advances made by our workers and farmers power.

This Leninist principle has proven an indispensable condition for managing socialist society and the purposeful development of its advantages and motive forces. As we relevantly combine the objective need for central management

"in fundamentals, the most significant, the essential,"\* as Lenin put it, with the working people's creative activities, we deepen the dialectical interrelations between deciding on basic social issues and the promotion of individual local responsibility and initiative. That is a fundamental experience of our socialist construction. We shall continue to pursue it and perfect it further.

In resolving contemporary tasks we never lose sight of our grand goal to establish the communist society. To this historic optimism conforms the task the SED Program formulates to the effect that we must in the GDR "continue to shape the developed socialist society, whereby to create fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism."\*\*

The 12th FDJ Parliament reflected what can be found everywhere in our country: the solid unity among the generations. Such communality is due to identical basic interests. As in our overall policy so also in our youth policy, trust, concrete responsibility and codetermination, honesty and sincerity, and the unity between a promise given and redeemed by deeds always go together.

For years already, the predictions by bourgeois politicians and ideologues of an impending generational conflict, presumably unavoidable in socialism also, have been smashed by the realities in our life. The GDR is the joint achievement of all generations. Their unity has for decades contributed to the consolidation of our workers and farmers state. It remains a sound basis for our state's continued prosperity. Side by side the generations are carrying our banner of socialist accomplishments into the approaching millenium.

We are a society in constant forward movement. Continuity among us always includes dynamics, new qualitative demands and developments. We are justifiably proud of our jointly created successes. They make us certain we are on the correct course. What we achieve today is to us communists always the foundation for farther and higher goals. Revolutionary change is part and parcel of socialism.

In this certitude our country is preparing for the 11th SED Congress as a high point in the life of all the people. This conference of ours is expected to stake out for it the tasks in the field of political science and jurisprudence. It is supposed to make an important contribution to further perfecting our political and legal order and a still more comprehensive development of socialist democracy in our workers and farmers state. It is expected to help stake out the contribution from political science and jurisprudence as social sciences to strengthening our people's political-moral unity, to shaping the socialist consciousness and value concepts of the working class, and to the all-round development of personality. As life has demonstrated, our society always makes the best headway where, from the level of what has been achieved, new questions are raised in good time and new solutions are sought and found for new problems.

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\*V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize Competition," "Werke" [Works], Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 412.

\*\*"Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 9.

For further preparations for the 11th party congress Comrade Erich Honecker, relying on experiences and results of the broad people's movement thus far, furnished the basic orientation in his speech at the 10th plenum. As always when our party formulates demands made on its activity, it relies on an extensive analysis of the concrete situation. We let ourselves be guided then by Lenin's realization that any socially decisive decision always has to proceed from the concrete societal perimeter, from historical experience and from knowing the objective future requirements while being transformed into practice.

The higher qualitative demand made on our work today is due to the ever closer combination between the advantages of socialism and the accomplishments of the scientific-technological revolution and the therefore objectively growing requirements, perceptible in all sectors, for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, is due to the forward march of socialism in the world and the increasing importance of the unity and cohesiveness of the community of socialist states and to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup course that results from it.

In the worldwide class conflict we have an experience on our side that is optimistic as to the sure prospects of socialism and the future of all mankind: The stronger socialism is, the better peace can prosper.

This certitude, that the peace-preserving mission of socialism all by itself shows our order to be the most humane and most future-bearing of all social orders, to us is an ever-lasting motive force for all we do in serving the people. It motivates the desire constantly to strengthen socialist state power and reliably to protect it at all times.

#### Communal Policy with Civic Relevance and Performance-Oriented

The political organization of the developed socialist society set down in our party program develops qualitatively on all levels. Communal policy plays a special role in this process. Under our socialist conditions the citizens get immediately involved in preparing, conducting and controlling communal decisions. They exercise an influence on developing municipal and communal life more and more abundantly, further fashioning working and living conditions, directing youth education and training, organizing health care, sponsoring diversified social, cultural and sports activities, providing for order and safety and, through the "Join-in!" competition, making more attractive all the time the appearance of their hometowns as a calling card announcing good communal policy.

To be a communal politician is an especially honorable obligation. As, after all, in the communal sector becomes immediately apparent how ordinary problems are settled with men in mind and how one can directly influence them. Here each decision is tested at once and has to stand up "on the spot." It is only logical that in well managed towns and communities the people's debate and the people's movement grow up in a reciprocally conditioned unity.

The high rank of communal policy in our country is also seen in that the State Council regularly deals with basic work experiences in towns and communities. The Frankfurt/Oder city-Kreis assembly and the Demmin Kreis assembly, for instance, reported on cooperative efforts with territorial enterprises and cooperatives. The Leipzig Bezirk assembly furnished important insights into strengthening socialist legality. The community authority of Rueting, Grevesmuehlen Kreis, and of Rueckersdorf, Gera/Land Kreis, portrayed how they are shaping public life in their communities. The Magdeburg city-Kreis assembly and the Arnstadt Kreis assembly reported on the implementation of the housing construction program, and the Schwerin Bezirk assembly, on the activities of the local people's representations. The city-Kreis assembly of Fehrbellin, Neuruppin Kreis, and the community authority of Wittgensdorf, Karl-Marx-Stadt/Land Kreis, gave information on experiences in their complex management activities. The Bad Salzungen Kreis assembly and the Lauchhammer city-Kreis assembly gave information about their insights into territorial rationalization. The report from the Stralsund city-Kreis assembly induced the State Council to make recommendations on the work done with petitions from citizens.

The insights, experiences and tasks that come from State Council sessions are of an importance of principle for the efforts of the political and legal scientists. On the basis of what has been achieved, they, after all, allow generalizations about what is to be done in any given field to improve further the quality of communal policy.

The draft law on the local people's representations takes that purpose into account. It was discussed in the State Council on 17 June and, as a joint bill from the State Council and the Council of Ministers, passed to the People's Chamber for decision-making. It accurately reflects the social changes since the Eighth SED Congress and embraces the experiences gathered since. Proceeding from the growing demands made on the local state organs in further implementing the SED program, the bill aims at the further all-round strengthening of the workers and farmers power and serves the rigorous implementation of democratic centralism in state management and planning.

The legal regulations intended conform to the increasing contributions from the local organs to the implementation of the tasks in the new phase of our economic strategy. They contribute to the perfecting of socialist democracy and mold the character of the local people's representations as working corporate bodies further. They provide still better opportunities for deepening the collaboration between the local state organs and the territorial enterprises and cooperatives, the social organizations and the National Front commissions. They stimulate the citizens' dedication and initiative for getting still more broadly involved in solving state and communal tasks. The present bill is responsive to the deputies' high responsibility and aims at using their rich political and technical knowledge and experience for providing state management with still more expertise.

#### Enhancing the Efficacy of Territorial Rationalization

Staying over the long run with comprehensive intensification requires tapping all growth and efficiency sources germane to socialism and using them for speeding up economic performance development and the improvement of working

and living conditions. Improving the effectiveness of territorial rationalization is of great political and economic importance in this connection. New reserves for further advances have to be tapped this way.

Enterprises and combines greatly share in the responsibility for drafting territorial rationalization measures, integrating their tasks and measures within the plan and implementing them resolutely. Promoting socialist co-operative efforts among the enterprises is the responsibility of the local people's representations and their organs. The focal point there lies in speeding up scientific-technological progress, improving the energy and materials economy, fully utilizing the basic assets, optimizing transport processes, increasing consumer goods production, and steadily improving the working and living conditions. It conforms fully to comprehensive intensification that in a more rational use of material and financial funds available to our social labor capacity what matters is to refrain from resorting to economic means that go beyond the plan.

Proceeding from the experiences gained to the effect that the introduction of the latest technology for manufacturing new high-tech products comes mainly by way of in-house means of rationalization construction and mutual assistance among the enterprises, grand and efficacious perspectives arise for territorial cooperation. This way we must get all we can out of the modernization of extant basic assets as the main form of basic assets reproduction in all enterprises also by using the possibilities of the most efficient enterprises for improving the technical level and technologies in the locally managed enterprises of industry and construction. That way uneven production-related and territorial conditions can be better taken account of and used more specifically.

Great reserves for an effective use of available basic assets can be tapped by offering and using to a larger extent and with greater efficiency still free machine capacities on a common basis. Improving the effectiveness of the machine park this way is a precept of economic reason. Furthermore, a prudent policy on production locations must help us in using territorially available structural, production and storage reserves to boost the output of goods in demand.

Of great importance for high effectiveness in investments and the basic assets economy is to coordinate the development of installations and networks in the territorial infrastructure. That concerns mainly the development of the sources for energy, heat and drinking water supplies, sewage treatment and the efficient use of transport capacities. For the economically effective shifting of transports from roads to tracks, intra-plant and loading and unloading teams are found to be increasingly useful.

Through the cooperation of centrally managed combines with the bezirk-managed combines and their enterprises and with territorial science institutions, territorial opportunities can also still better be used to achieve a considerable increase in consumer goods production and in the thousand small items for the population.



Purposively improving the citizens' working and living conditions by way of a joint responsibility is indispensable in a circumspect socialist communal policy. Foremost attention here goes to providing for the workers, to school lunches, commuting, training and continuing education, including polytechnical instruction, taking care of children, health care, and repairs and services.

Efficient commercial management is significant. Goods available, their volume and quantities, how citizens are served and advised, customer-friendly hours when the shops and restaurants are open, and adequate customer service not insignificantly affect the mood, opinion and performance readiness of the population. To that end we still need more of a customer-oriented collaboration between industry, agriculture and commerce within the framework of territorial rationalization. That ranges from properly timed shipments, proper as to assortments, order, cleanliness, and attractive decor in the stores and shopping centers all the way to diversified stocks at boutiques. The revised law on the local people's representations takes account of this growing responsibility of the local people's representations for provisioning the population.

#### Housing Construction and the Responsibility of the Local State Organs

Communal policy also has to address great tasks in housing construction. It is truly a historic task to help resolve the housing problem as a social problem in our country. The eighth SED Central Committee and GDR Council of Ministers construction conference reiterated again the historic magnitude of this central task in our social program. By the end of 1985 we will have improved the housing conditions for more than 7 million citizens; under the new five-year plan new construction and modernization will do the same for another 3 million.

Urban and architectural development will continue to be mainly determined by social objectives. The fundamental task is and will continue to be to achieve through our housing construction program a maximal sociopolitical effect through efficiently placing material and financial investments. New construction, reconditioning, modernization and maintenance will still be more closely combined with one another. That makes higher demands on the local state organs and also calls for active help and support from the combines and enterprises. It is of importance to repair enterprise-owned apartments while assisting the local organs in the maintenance, reconditioning and modernization of apartments.

Intensive urban development shifts the emphasis of housing construction further to the inner city. Construction takes place right in residential areas, sometimes in the very apartment a citizen occupies. That will in the future more than ever call for complex political leadership by the council and for a streamlined state management in getting set for and carrying out construction measures. As the new construction legislation of 1984 stipulates, citizens have to be drawn into the preparation and implementation of construction measures long-range through information, consultation and the regard for their own ideas. In general, the kreis, town and communal councils are responsible for making better use still, intensively so, of available housing. That pertains to handing back reconditioned apartments as fast as possible and in good quality to tenants and to the need to turn housing that had been unsuitably used before back into regular housing space.

Increasing maintenance and modernization and the improved quality of housing heighten the demands made on long-term conceptual work on housing construction in towns and communities. Based on kreis and municipal housing construction conceptions, we have to prepare building sites in good time, develop construction capacities and vastly improve the cost/benefit ratio. This complex of tasks relates not only to new construction or reconstruction of apartments but to the total of urban planning, from a timely building of roads and streets to pleasure-grounds. Much can be done much faster here--as experiences in best places show--through a circumspect communal policy in the interest of and with help from the citizens.

The qualitative changes in housing construction have far-reaching consequences for the development of local housing construction. It is necessary decisively to strengthen kreis-managed construction in its efficiency and effectiveness on the basis of territorial developmental conceptions. Kreis construction enterprises and the private building trade share a great responsibility for the care and maintenance of housing. In this context the eighth construction conference is on record to have pointed to the duty of local organs to aid the crafts so that here we shall also proceed toward rational and productive methods everywhere. As in all other sectors so also in construction, reciprocal relationships between the performance and efficiency development of the combines and enterprises, our state's sociopolitical objectives and those of socialist communal policy are gaining importance. And efficient construction holds the same rank of importance as making efficient use of what has been built.

The bezirk council has to ensure such a priority development of kreis-managed construction integrated with the plan and promote a speed-up in its converting to industrialized production methods. That demands of the kreis and municipal councils that they exploit all territorial resources to accelerate the scientific-technological progress. This also includes such forms of socialist communal efforts as the further extension of territorial rationalization through cooperative communities in means of rationalization construction and communal contracts on conversion and expansion and on the modernization and reconstruction of apartment buildings by enterprises.

#### Firm Alliance between the Workers Class and the Class of the Cooperative Farmers

As an inseparable component of our scientific strategy and tactics for the shaping of the developed socialist society, the alliance between the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers is constantly being deepened and further developed as one of our state's fundamental conditions. The history of real socialism has taught us that a stable socialist agriculture is indispensable for the political, economic and social stability of socialist society.

In our party policy the expansion of the alliance between the workers class and the cooperative farmers ties in with the agrar-policy task systematically to boost farm output and its efficiency to ensure stable, constantly improving public supplies in high-grade foods and raw materials for industry, as well as to approximate rural and urban living conditions that will gradually do away with the stark disparities between town and countryside.

This responsibility of socialist agriculture leads to far-reaching implications. They concern the interrelation between the full use of cooperative property, the reproduction of the class of the cooperative farmers and of the social labor capacity of the LPG's [agricultural producer cooperatives] and of the state farms as well as the development of the village population and village development. The question about the prospects of the village today touches not only the interests of its inhabitants, but the society at large. Confirmed by practice, we have every good reason to assert: the village has secure prospects under socialism. Never yet has so much been done for the village community as under socialist conditions.

Based on the resolutions from the 10th SED Congress and the 12th Farmers Congress of the GDR, ever better use is made in our country of the grown efficiency and the ever larger economic potential of the cooperatives, state farms and their cooperative facilities to make our villages prettier all the time and more attractive. Ever more favorable prerequisites are created this way--through close cooperation with all social forces--for further developing agricultural production and rural social conditions.

Pretty villages with strong economic cooperatives and state farms and developed cooperation relations, good working and living conditions and an interesting intellectual-cultural life--all that belongs directly together today. We may assume in this context that through the intensification of agrarian production, the role of the village will be consolidated and raised with the further development of socialist rural production relations.

The traditional traits of a village become qualitatively new in character under socialism. Each village is the cooperative farmers' and workers' home. At the same time it is the site of agrar production, regardless of whether an LPG or a VEG [state farm] or a brigade has its seat there. Most villages have stalls or other livestock production installations. The soil, in any event, is the field in which the cooperative farmers are engaged. Individual homesteads and other forms of small-scale production are most strongly developed in each village. The rural character of communities is becoming more prominent.

The collaboration of the LPG's and VEG's, of the communities and social organizations ought to be aimed at getting as much as possible out of what there is for the benefit of agricultural performance development and thus also for improving housing conditions and life all-around in the countryside. Greater attention must still be paid to having villages more and more and more supply themselves, as their local opportunities allow, with foodstuffs that can be produced in the communities and need no industrial treatment and processing. That relates mainly to fresh produce and fruit. With help from the cooperatives and other territorial enterprises, new juice plants, village bakeries and butcheries have opened lately, the number of decent village inns is up, and new service and shopping facilities ease the work of the female cooperative farmers.

The SED Central Committee secretariat resolution of 18 August 1982, on turning the Farmers' Mutual Aid Association into a socialist mass organization for cooperative farmers and cooperative gardeners, turned out to have great importance for the social development in our villages. Today life in the

communities is perceptibly being supported by the circa 7,500 local organizations of VdgB [Farmers' Mutual Aid Association] and its 460,000 members. The VdgB does great political work in the villages in support of the cooperatives and state farms with rural labor during cultivation and harvests. The number of villages with VdgB supply facilities and its Farmers' Trade Cooperatives has grown to more than 5,200. Last year 50 new complex sales and service facilities, circa 500 new sales outlets, 200 loan outlets and 66 self-help workshops were set up.

The circa 1.3 million members of VKSK [Association of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Breeders] also have a high share in the social life in the countryside and in the tapping of reserves. Their initiatives are greatly helped by the 30 August 1983 SED Central Committee politburo resolution on "Measures for Further Encouraging Individual Production in the Homesteads of Cooperative Farmers and Workers, VKSK Members and Other Individual Small Producers" and by the politburo resolution on carrying out the agrar-prize reform. Especially promoted is the production of produce and animal products that are labor-intensive and for the output of which territorial reserves and broken lots can be used, whereby high public allocations and investments can be spared.

For the kreis council efforts in the further shaping of socialist democracy, it is the activity of the councils for agriculture and the foodstuffs economy, organs for consultation and codetermination by the cooperative farmers and workers in agriculture and the foodstuffs economy, that is of growing importance. Those councils have the task to prepare expertly and thoroughly kreis council decisions on agricultural development and social life in the countryside. They concentrate their activity more and more on correlating the managerial requirements in the LPG's and VEG's and their cooperative facilities with the requirements of the national economy. They promote cooperation among cooperatives and state farms and other territorial enterprises and facilities on behalf of a performance growth for all partners and the application of the scientific-technological progress and performance comparisons. The most important intent behind it is to surmount this way unjustified disparities in the production and efficiency levels.

The councils for agriculture and the foodstuffs economy, furthermore, ought to get the right to submit to the kreis council draft resolutions on the development of agriculture and the foodstuffs economy in the kreis. That, however, presupposes more expertise in the task forces and commissions of the councils for agriculture and the foodstuffs economy. It also increases the demands made on the work of the kreis council. While converting to comprehensive intensification in agriculture, more attention must be paid to the managerial questions in the streamlined reproduction process while the cooperation gets fostered. The kreis council gets a special responsibility for organizing the transfer of the scientific-technological progress into practice, aiming at high economic and social results.

The point is made in our party program that for shaping the developed socialist society it is necessary to create all conditions so that social relations and men's physical and mental abilities can develop to the fullest, and all opportunities are given for them to make their lives meaningful and cultured, so

that the working people's thoughts and acts are imbued with socialist ideology, the Marxist-Leninist working class world-outlook. Accordingly, the law on the local people's representations underscores the responsibility for the citizens' educational and cultural level.

In that process, culture and art are indispensable for conveying social, moral and aesthetic ideas, for men's intellectual and moral maturation, and thus for the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Everyone knows how much a book written in an urge for revolutionary change, a stirring song, a movie that stimulates the spectators can enrich the world of feeling and bolster the inner strength for tasks ahead. Good literature and art, especially the best works of art in socialist realism, convey to the working people a picture of the magnitude and beauty of human creativity. Progressive works of art further the pride in what was achieved through struggles rich in conflict and sacrifices, awaken and reinforce our value concepts, and encourage the will to become just as dedicated today to social progress as earlier generations have been.

An emotionally moving experience with progressive art, becoming familiar with our progressive cultural legacy, and one's own endeavors in the arts motivate the search for a meaningful life. They affect willing hands, a supple mind and happy hearts, as Karl Marx put it once. So art and culture become an indispensable motive force of social development.

And precisely from here it follows time and again that state organs support the desire of the creators of culture to carry out party policy into the masses also by way of art and culture.

What matters is to meet the working people's needs for a cultured communal life with great attention and promote the citizens' cultural and artistic activities with understanding.

#### Expanded Rights and Higher Responsibility of the People's Representations

An expression of the higher responsibility of the deputies is that now, with the revised law on the local people's representations, the rights and duties of the people's deputies and the standing commissions were further extended and the ties between the deputies and their work collectives and their constituencies were defined more precisely in constitutional terms. Also the responsibility of the local state organs on the various management levels--from the bezirk-managed industry through the implementation of the housing construction program and the materials and energy economy, down to the communist education of the young generation--everywhere, in other words, is formulated more specifically and distinctly.

Another characteristic of the law is the extension of the rights and duties of the state organs in towns and communities. In this context, the position and responsibilities of the mayors and their assistance and direction from the kreis council chairmen are defined clearly and unequivocally. Mayors have special responsibilities for developing our communal policy further. Through their, frequently, long years of practical experiences, their political and

specialized knowledge, and their abundant personal contacts with the population they in many places, together with the deputies, have become a trusted connecting link between our state and its citizens. This fine development shall be made still more pronounced everywhere. Political and juridical scientists ought to target their attention at the activity of the mayors and the elaboration of basic materials for their activity.

The present draft law on the local people's representations is the outcome of the creative cooperation between council chairmen and mayors, ministers and staff-members on central or local state organs, scientists and representatives of parties and social organizations and, not last, of many deputies.

The decisive handle for applying the law in practice is its orientation to comprehensively involving all citizens in drawing up and supervising communal decisions. The law regulations are based on the firm relation of trust between the state and the population, and they are aimed to make that still more pronounced. Any state activity first of all means working for and with men, means directing men.

The State Council recommendations on working with petitions, of 4 March this year, have led to a clearer approach still to a relevant civic mode of work. We come to understand better and better: by their petitions the citizens express their confidence in state organs; they have to be dealt with accordingly.

For further developing the citizens' democratic participation it is essential to develop extensive information on the substance of laws and resolutions and on the decisions and measures from the local state organs. Concrete information is imperative for constructive participation. Knowing about tasks and connections decisively encourages the citizens' readiness to get involved and straighten out on their own what still has to be straightened out. That mobilizing motto applies to all domains.

The quality of government work is measured against actual results. Such a working style implies, as an element that is understood, criticism and self-criticism urging changes and debate. It turns out to be important always to see to it that under the pressure from particulars and heavy daily demands the responsibility for the whole, the social overall connections is not lost sight of.

The increasing responsibility of the local state organs for solving the intertwined social processes also of course heightens the demands made on the personnel. Training them thoroughly and instilling in them from the outset a working style responsive to the people, knowing them well and judging them by their achievements, those are important criteria.

If one talks with successful communal politicians today and becomes familiar with the work they do--despite all differences in their spheres of responsibility--one runs into quite a lot they all have in common. They are acting, responsibly, in full knowledge of party and government resolutions, on behalf of the citizens. They have developed the ability to consider and enforce their tasks, normally, together with the population, to react sensitively to

any suggestion relating to their activity in communal policy, and translate their ideas effectively into practical results. They tolerate no shortcomings and, while making decisions about their community or town, always keep all of society in mind. They give much thought to reasons for decisions that have ripened and concern themselves well ahead of time with the conclusions from them. They use good examples to generalize best experiences effectively.

In practice we find today more than ever that for each government functionary--whatever department he may be in--the unity between political and technical skill is the first and foremost precondition for successful activity.

Looking at the development of our communal policy in the last year and the many-layered process of the perfecting of socialist democracy in our country and its reflection in the new version of the law on the local people's representations, then we also detect from this highly topical example: We are--as Lenin once said--in the advantageous situation of a party that knows its course precisely.

#### Unity of Theory and Practice--Demand on Political and Juridical Scientists

Reviewing the period since the 10th party congress, it is to be stated that the GDR's political and juridical scientists are making an important contribution to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in our country through their involvement in the drafting of laws and other legal regulations, through research for perfecting socialist democracy, investigations into the practical efficacy of state management and of the law, through political and juridical science contributions to the implementation of our party's economic strategy and a multifaceted law propaganda, and the training and communist education of the students and the new generation of scientists. Our party attributes great significance to the activities of the political and juridical scientists in research and teaching. For all that, hand in hand with it goes the hope to overcome more rapidly still surviving tendencies of abstract theorizing.

Altogether, political and juridical science, as any other science, is under the challenge to face more consistently still and across the whole breadth of its discipline the rapidly growing demands made on social development. This considerable potential should more effectively still be concentrated on those fundamental issues that are determined by topical as well as long-range social requirements. Then the demand the party program has placed on the social sciences is met, in that they, as a theoretical and political-ideological instrument of the workers class and its revolutionary party, meet their test in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in the confrontation with imperialism and bourgeois ideology.

On 13 November 1984 the SED Central Committee Politburo, as one knows, issued a resolution on improving research and instruction at the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence. The first results are already in evidence. The politburo assumed that preparing for the 11th party congress would place decidedly higher demands on the theoretical research and training and advanced training levels of government functionaries. So extensive measures were set down to improve further the efficacy of this great science institution for government in practice. One wants to deepen further the connection between

theory and practice in research and teaching, raise each scientist's responsibility and performance capacity, and further intensify the training process.

What is it that matters in particular?

First, more theoretically demanding and practically efficacious studies are expected which, on the basis of the SED program, explore and help solve problems in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. It is necessary for political science and jurisprudence to create a science lead for strengthening the socialist state and the legal order of the GDR through new insights that conform to the growing dynamics of our social advances.

Second, it is a matter of comprehending reality still more accurately, of analyzing more rigorously still our progressive experiences and, from there, working out theoretically cogent and practically usable conclusions, proposals and guidelines. The object of all research has to be oriented more yet to current and future practical benefits. Of scientific investigations it is to be demanded that they do not just settle for observations but uncover the causes of phenomena, demonstrate interconnections, provide sound statements on short-range and long-range developmental tendencies and effective conditions, and propose justified solutions including alternative ones. As experience has shown, such results are achieved above all when the work was carried out from the very start together with the partner in the practical field, when stable relations with the practical field exist, and when the investigations are handled in as complex a fashion as possible and the results are exploited jointly. Good examples exist, yet such a working method is not yet being practiced everywhere. It always involves the unity between theory and practice, science and politics. Scientific work oriented this way by way of practice and to practice also will help the publications by political and juridical scientists to be written in a more vivid and persuasive style and to gain in cogency and perception.

Third, it is necessary to reinforce the international and interdisciplinary collaboration with the political and juridical scientists in the fraternal socialist countries, above all in the Soviet Union. That proves more and more an important source for performance growth, for a higher level in the research yield and greater practical efficacy. The demand made on state organs, to cope with the tasks on hand by a more complex approach and overcome the parochialism that exists, should be demonstrated in scientific work as an example for the practical field. There are genuine reserves here and a great need to catch up. The development of interdisciplinary collaboration is still too slow. To change that decisively for the good, efforts in all science sectors are needed, especially in training the new generation of scientists. It is not merely a matter of bringing the branch disciplines of political science and jurisprudence closer together. What is necessary first and foremost is to make more use in the work of political science and jurisprudence of the progressive insights in other science disciplines such as philosophy, economics, or sociology. Fundamental social developmental processes are to be explored in close collaboration with those disciplines. Political science and jurisprudence should give rise to more impulses for that sort of working method. The Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence bears an especially high responsibility for it. Less than ever before can today, as one knows,



the problems in juridical rulings and in the state management of social processes be separated from the intertwined economic, social and intellectual-cultural contents.

Fourth, the contribution by political science and jurisprudence to all political mass activity has to become more vivid and persuasive. Every scientist should pass his test as a propagandist and make his personal contribution to fostering and fortifying the citizens' socialist consciousness with the arsenal of political and juridical science insights and arguments. What matters is not just to convey facts and knowledge, but to form attitudes and to mobilize the working people for implementing our policy for the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace. For that one ought to use various forms of written and oral propaganda, the daily press, radio and TV, events sponsored by the mass organizations, and the editing of dictionaries, handbooks and popular science tracts. Much more resolutely should one conform to the experience that mass political and propaganda activity is all the more successful the more it is distinguished by relevance to life, cogency, a wealth of argumentation and an understandable language. The international class struggle and the concomitant confrontation with the antihumane ideology and practice of the aggressive U.S. and NATO forces are going to become exacerbated further. That demands of the political and juridical scientists also their standing up in any situation as fighters on the ideological front. Merely recording the lies and slander the enemy is spreading every day about socialism and its successful advances does not benefit our society. What matters is compellingly to refute the enemy by facts and arguments and relevantly and aggressively presenting our positions on the basic issues in our time. Here we also mainly have to provide the evidence for the contradiction between the bourgeois law ideology and the reality of law in that society. That is a job for all political and juridical science disciplines.

Fifth, it is necessary to translate research data faster and more effectively into the training and advanced training in political science and jurisprudence. High-level and practically effective results are an important basis for sound scientific training in law that is pertinent to public life. The practical relevance of training and effective instruction in new science data should always be integrated with each other. It is the university teacher's responsibility not to be amiss in this and to attain a maximum of new insights and progressive experiences to be conveyed to the students through information exchange, the analysis of science publications and journals, and conferences. An essential aspect of instilling self-reliance, responsibility and creative activity in the students is their being drawn into the research. That not only relates the training more interestingly, effectively and forcefully to practical contemporary problems, the students also learn to check and test the knowledge acquired against the concrete problems of life. The students' scientific work--as the good examples show--is a genuine testing ground in studies; all university teachers ought to use this field for education in performance readiness and the sense of responsibility.

In further training personnel already working in a practical field it mainly matters to connect the issues in political science and jurisprudence more, and more pervasively, with the implementation of the economic strategy and

the present-day tasks for boosting our economic capacity. We must also tap still more definitely the various experiences and insights of the state functionaries, judges and public prosecutors for solving scientific tasks.

Sixth, it is a political importance of the first order continuously to render more expert the communist education of the students and of the new generation of scientists. Our state needs jurists who--brought up also by their role model, their university teacher--stand up in all situations as ardent champions of our socialist cause and to whom Marxism-Leninism and the party resolutions are the supreme guidelines for action. Loyalty to our socialist state, the readiness and ability to strengthen and protect this state, and dedicating oneself to it with all one knows and all one is, those are the political features a study in political science and jurisprudence has to fashion.

More and more impressive for our friends and to an ever greater chagrin of our enemies, our state distinguishes itself as the chief instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Socialist practice emphatically confirms the words from our Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th party congress: "Socialist state power led by the Marxist-Leninist party, its authority and functionality, are the basis and prerequisite for our successful advances. That is and remains the cardinal question of the socialist revolution."\*

The mission of the SED program, further to develop and to perfect socialist democracy, is purposefully being implemented, as demonstrated by our society in practice. In all public sectors the inclusion of the working people in the preparation, implementation and supervision of state and social decisions comes to prevail more and more as a decisive feature of our democracy. Here everybody can sense: Our socialist state works with the people and for the people. No law exists in our workers and farmers state that could be committed to any other cause but to the well-being of the working people and to the safeguarding of peace. No German state before this could ever resort to such a claim. The Constitution of our socialist fatherland is a Magna Charta of the people in the truest sense of the word. The constitutional principle, "All political power in the GDR shall be exercised by the working people in town and country. The welfare of man shall be the overriding concern of socialist society and its state,"\*\* is a social reality and also always again a constant challenge to us all.

Such a lofty claim implies the obligation to let oneself be guided, in any decision that has to be made, in any task we have to resolve together, by the principle behind our work: everything for the good of the people. Always one must ask the question which political and social consequences result from a new challenge to the working people, and which would be the most efficient solution for them and in the interest of their state. Our party is convinced the political and juridical scientists will also meet that expectation through their work.

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\*"Protokoll des X. Parteitages der SED," Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 9.

\*\*"GDR Constitution," Article 2 (1), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1974, p 9.

Let us approach the 11th SED Congress with the sense of our jointly produced successes and the new great demands made on our people's creative capacities.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROLETARIAN NATIONAL CULTURE CHARACTERIZED

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[Article by Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee and minister of culture: "The People's Culture"]

[Text] In the mass movement for strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace in preparation for the 11th party congress we find confirmed anew every day: Like social security and the high material standard of living achieved, a meaningful and cultured, intellectually rich existence, socialist education, culture and art belong for all of us among the accomplishments and values of the socialist society that are acting as motive forces for social progress in that they stimulate men's social activity.

In four decades, together with the fundamental transformation of property relations, all ideological relations, the living conditions of the people as such, were transformed, because for the massive production of the new socialist consciousness as well as "for carrying through the matter itself, a massive change of men is necessary," Marx and Engels wrote, to "get all the old junk off one's back and become able to renew society."<sup>1</sup> That set up the prerequisites for "ensuring an existence for all members of society by means of social production that not only is perfectly adequate materially and becomes richer from day to day, but that guarantees them also the completely free formation and activation of their physical and mental gifts."<sup>2</sup>

In this historic process of penetrating social changes, which generations of the working people have already been implementing for generations, under the leadership by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in our country, there arose and developed the socialist national culture of the GDR. This is a culture of peace, humanism and international understanding which, in the unity of material living conditions and rich intellectual goods, is the result of the creative work of all the people: a deeply democratic culture produced by the people for the people. "It is marked by the goals and ideals of the workers class, its scientific world-outlook and the maxims of its way of life and becomes the culture of all the working people."<sup>3</sup> The workers class lends the new society its real humanistic features, human qualities and combative characteristics. At the same time it challenges the creative cultural forces of all allied classes and strata and mobilizes

them for entering their historic experiences, progressive traditions, specific interests and capabilities into the socialist society, with the diversified culture of ours.

Thus the alliance of the workers class with the creators of culture has always been an inexhaustible source of strength for the successful development of our socialist national culture. The artists and creators of culture proved loyal and reliable allies. In all fields of artistic creativity for four decades a wealth of works has been created "which in its own way attests to the birth and growth of our socialist state, to the historic achievement of the working class party, and to the blossoming of the socialist German nation in the GDR and, as a force itself sharing the creative process, has entered into the pervasive social transformation and ideological change processes of these decades."<sup>4</sup> The class enemy is constantly seeking to subvert this alliance. All the more are our party and our state intent on further developing and deepening the relationship of trust and the creative climate of community, on patiently and convincingly answering the questions life itself keeps raising, on clarifying and creating awareness. Only through the proven alliance with the revolutionary workers class and alongside the people can the creators of culture find a genuine field of action and a perspective.

#### The Reality of Our Democracy

In our socialist democracy the people's cultural rights became social matters of fact, human rights guaranteed. In eliminating the barriers to the working people's dealing with education, culture and art, and in creating a democratic production, dissemination and appropriation system for the material and spiritual values of culture, we gave all classes and strata of our people access to the cultural values and the treasures of art, indeed to an active participation in cultural life. The right to culture became a constitutional right. To us, the real and complete democratization of culture has been and is a social necessity.

We have made good and target-directed headway by means of the main task with its united economic and social policies in elevating the material and cultural standard of living by our country's citizens. That is impressively attested to by new architectural masterpieces like the Berlin Schauspielhaus, reopened as a concert hall, the new Semper Opera in Dresden, the newly built Friedrichstadt Palais and the many new and lovingly restored and rehabilitated valuable structures within the scope of our housing construction program, and by new solutions for architectural design in many new construction areas. Cultural high points such as the "USSR Culture Days in the GDR" or the homage to Bach, Haendel and Schuetz in the GDR this year, exhibitions like "Normal Day and Era--The Visual Art of 35 Years" or "World Art Treasures--Saved for Mankind"--to mention but some outstanding events--prove by their great response that culture and art are accepted by increasingly more working people as an indispensable source for making life rewarding. That is brought home also by the vividness and variety of our socialist popular art movement, in innumerable cultural activities in enterprises and territories, houses of culture, museums, galleries, theaters, libraries, schools and youth clubs. We are learning to enrich ordinary living with cultural opportunities, meet the working people's more and more diversified needs, make the masses more aware of the

accomplishments, values and ideals of socialism, advance the working people's well-being, dedication and creativeness, and reinforce socialist convictions and modes of conduct.

More and more working people are taking an active part in the planning and organization of intellectual-cultural life. Increased has particularly their activities in volunteer clubs and interest communities, on culture commissions of enterprises, institutions, cooperatives and social organizations, in visitors activists groups and advisory groups, as enterprise or local chroniclers, in monument preservation activists groups and circles and working teams of popular art, and in organizing parties, holidays and celebrations.

The improvements in our cultural life, perceptible to everybody, could be achieved because our party creatively applies its policy for the good of the people even under more complicated conditions and does everything to implement resolutely the objectives decided on in our program. "Our people expect," Comrade Erich Honecker reiterated at the 10th Central Committee session, "that we defend their right to a life in peace and freedom on the basis of socialist production relations with the same circumspection and determination that we have shown in earlier years and, through encouraging their will to perform, ensure another upsurge in prosperity. To meet that expectation is only our duty, as it conforms with our desire to place the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR on broader foundations through high increases in efficiency."<sup>5</sup>

This maxim hold true without reservation for management activity in cultural policy. From the requirements for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, especially for the struggle in implementation of the economic strategy, as from those for the ideological class conflict between socialism and imperialism, it follows of necessity that the qualitative criteria of our socialist national culture, its popular character, be further shaped and be brought to bear more and more completely. A higher cultural level for the working class and in its influence on the development of art and culture, the deepening of its alliance with the creators of culture and art, are of crucial importance for it.

#### The Cultural Process and Creativeness

Further shaping the democratic, popular character of our socialist culture means looking at culture everywhere as everyone's concern and as an opportunity for everyone, as a need for all and not just as something for specialists, for some "competent" managements or only for artists and creators of culture. A revolution such as ours, Lenin wrote, "can be successfully brought about only when the majority of the population shows an independent historic creativity."<sup>6</sup> We need the broadest possible participation by working people in creating socialist cultural values, the formation of all their productive talent and abilities. This participation ranges from work--which in socialism is a unique, productive challenge to the knowledge and skill, abilities and talent, the cultural level, that is, of the producers--to the active participation in government business and public affairs all the way to the arts.

The more effectively we disseminate our world-outlook, promote science and education, a working culture and cultivated environmental design, shape the culture of human relations, direct the cultivation and teaching of the cultural legacy of humanism, the creation of socialist-realist art, the locating and training of creative talents in all sectors and on all levels, and harmoniously combine all these cultural elements with one another, the more extensively will the working people actually get involved in the development, dissemination and appropriation of our culture and its values: as producers and consumers of the material goods created by them, in shaping the socialist way of life imbued with working class ideals.<sup>7</sup> Also the shaping of the socialist society as a whole is affected in a most fruitful fashion by a deliberate and planned development of culture as a complex social phenomenon.

Worse yet than ever before our society today needs a rich, interesting, stimulating intellectual-cultural life high in ideological effectiveness--in town and country, in the capital and each Bezirk town, in every village, and in all places of work, study, recreation and leisure. That is achieved all the better, the more, in terms of ideas, one uses the large available potential of the media, the houses of culture and clubs, libraries, museums, theaters, performance halls--regardless of lines of subordination. Everywhere, through a purposeful and joint effort of all state and social forces and all cultural institutions, it becomes a matter of improving the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for our performance improvements, creating diverse opportunities for cultural activity, sociability, entertainment and education, so that more and more people acquire firm and permanent cultural habits. And here we must always pay attention to the dialectical connection between continuity and change. On the one side, historically grown needs of working people, cultural attitudes, habits and traditions that have formed in the course of our socialist development en masse will also in the foreseeable future largely determine their mode of life and cultural attitude. On the other side, through extensive intensification, the influence of the scientific-technological revolution, and the dealing with computer technology, microelectronics and so forth, new cultural needs and new opportunities for satisfying them are generated. Traditional needs are likely to change in substance and in the forms in which they get satisfied. A more efficient and rational shaping of the processes of life will combine with new opportunities for active mental and physical activities, with diversified cultural activities.

The conscious human activity in life is "practical, human-sensuous activity."<sup>8</sup> Not only cognition, lead assignments, adopting purposes, strategies for action and ratings are needed there, but emotionality, passion, volition, pleasure, imagination, curiosity and such are as well. Political convictions and ideological positions become more of a personality-molding and action-orienting force when they also are aesthetically formed cognition and emotion, when they are experienced and comprehended in the unity of reason and sentiment. The full unfolding of the working people's creative capacities, of their social activity, therefore also requires rich and diversified aesthetic relations and needs, activities and experiences. For the steady expansion and reinforcement of their image of the world and their sense of value they are as indispensable and irreplaceable as the perfecting of their personal traits and the cultivation of their feelings. How we succeed, e.g., in coping with the scientific-technological progress also in aesthetic terms, through a high-grade industrial design, that greatly affects the development of the will and ability for performance. The desire

for an environment and objects that meet our needs for functionality and beauty lives in all of us. The role of the arts is surely going to grow in our everyday environment. And not last, our ability also will be challenged more and more to form our environment "by the laws of beauty,"<sup>9</sup> which means help form it while becoming more capable of pleasure. We are facing an immense task in discovering and fully developing all the potentials of cultural progress intrinsic to ordinary industrial life and our shaped environment.

A complex aesthetic shaping and experiencing of the environment--from the work culture, the mode of living, the attitude of people, through architecture, fashions, the aesthetic quality of products, to the media, the field of entertainment and the arts--that is a task of a social dimension and scope. It pertains to the fundamental preconditions for men's feeling well and comfortable, to the cultural substance in human existence and work under socialism.

### Art and Popular Culture

More and more people in our socialist society are today gaining intimate rapport with art. The arts' effective social conditions have changed fundamentally. Their products enter the realm of ordinary human use as "victuals" or "life support." Never before have workers and farmers absorbed so much art. Many of them today approach the arts by raising questions about man's place in society, about freedom and responsibility, the claim to happiness and the chances of fulfilling it, to get ideas, an endorsement or enrichment for their personal way of living.

Under such circumstances an artist is more than ever called upon to serve men, serve his people, and be party-minded in his acts as a citizen. We have seen and are seeing the perspectives for creating art in socialism for socialism, through close ties with the people, on a high ideological-artistic level, with a deep sense for problems and while handling conflicts progressively. For every good reason Robert Weimann, Vice-President of the Arts Academy, has pointed out that under prevailing conditions of the struggle for peace, the anti-imperialist struggle, and of the possible consequences of the electronic communications explosion, the question of realism has become a factor of the worldwide intellectual struggle.<sup>10</sup>

"We honor and respect the artists and creators of culture as taking an active and reliable part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. We always meet their creative efforts for high substance in ideas and artistic mastery with the greatest respect and understanding. That by no means precludes critical confrontation with views and manifestations that fail to meet the demands of socialist-realist literature and art."<sup>11</sup> Our party, the socialist state and all social forces seek an atmosphere marked by high ideas and moral and aesthetic demands made on art, an attitude of understanding vis-a-vis the creators of art, and the promotion of all talents. That, however, is no matter of just making pronouncements. This amounts to creative inter-human relations. And it does not come about for once and for all. Such an atmosphere must again and again establish and prove itself.



Special attention has been and is being paid to the creative influence the workers class and all working people bring to bear on the creation of socialist-realist art when state organs, social organizations, mass media, combines, enterprises and art institutions hand out commissions to artists and partnerships are set up between artists and work collectives. This policy of public commissions, aimed principally at productively combining an "internal" and "external" commission and at shaping people and their vital questions today amounts to alliance policy and socialist democracy in action. Works have been created thereby in all fields which can no longer be imagined as nonexistent in our socialist national culture. Artists and workers, cooperative farmers and scientists have come closer together. That experience now ought to be applied on a broader basis. In all fields and on all levels we need such a commitment to this kind of partnership, more coordinated cooperation, and long-range planning. We absolutely must strengthen the promotion of public commissions by combines and enterprises and the development of creative partnerships between work collectives, party, state and economic functionaries, scientists and artists.

In our socialist democracy it is not just a personal interest or the interest of some art institution that would want to discover and train artistic talents. It is the entire society's business. We are having remarkable successes in this area. The popular art movement, the FDJ song movement, poetry seminars and workshop weeks, the small galleries, the festivals of young talents and of young artists, and the FDJ symphony orchestras in our music colleges attest to that. Even so: more ought to be done for it still for this is, after all, a basic strategic task of socialist cultural policy. Locating and promoting talents must become some broad and self-evident business.

Along with the great responsibility of the art colleges we also need a broad social commitment to instilling in our new generation of artists a great skill and a profound understanding of the social developmental laws and spiritual struggles of our era; they have to be given a clear class standpoint. Thereby our young artists experience and realize: here in the GDR, in our socialist fatherland, in the family of socialist peoples, in humanistic world culture, there is the feeding ground for our art, the source that develops its talent and prepares it for grand achievements.

#### Art and the Public

Further developing socialist culture as a people's culture also requires our making greater use of the relations between art and the socialist public in a targeted propaganda for the art of socialist realism in our country, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and our promoting a conscious critical appropriation of the many types of artistic opportunities in all fields. Turning art into a "public concern" (Johannes R. Becher) is under our socialist conditions as necessary and possible as never before. This pertains to a vivid communication between works of art and the public in our society. That has been and is a central task for developing a climate that is creative and friendly to the arts. Simultaneously, herein lies one of the most productive possibilities for still more challenging and developing the creative cultural role of the broad masses. In this sense higher demands have arisen for the cultural institutions, mainly the museums and libraries,

the art trade, the houses of culture, radio, cinema and TV, the press, as much as art criticism, aesthetics and art journalism. They all are asked to contribute, in a suitable fashion, to spreading the interest in art and turning the dealing with art of many genres into firm habits of life for ever broadening circles of the working people, especially the young ones.

Forty years after the liberation of our people from fascism, this is what we may assert: As the goal and result of our party's successful cultural policy, our socialist national culture is ripening in a close connection with the development and strengthening of the GDR, in constant issue-taking with the imperialist ideology and culture and in fruitful interchange with the multinational culture and art of the Soviet Union and the cultures of the other fraternal socialist countries.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke" [Works] Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 70.
2. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 263-264.
3. Erich Honecker, "Rich Culture--Created by the People for the People," "Reiche Kultur--vom Volke fuer das Volk geschaffen," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 12.
4. Kurt Hager, "Tradition and Progress," EINHEIT, No 6, 1985, p 521.
5. "Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED--Aus der Rede des Genossen Erich Honecker, 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" [In Preparation for the 11th SED Congress--From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, 10th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, p 8.
6. V. I. Lenin, "The Next Tasks of the Soviet Power," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 231.
7. Cf. Kurt Hager, "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" [Contributions to Cultural Policy], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 14-15.
8. Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," "Werke," Vol 3, p 534.
9. Karl Marx, "The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," supplementary volume, first part. Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 517.
10. Cf. Robert Weimann, "Reality and Realism," SINN UND FORM, No 5, Sep/Oct 1984, pp 924 ff.
11. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 15.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW BRIDGE EQUIPMENT FOR WATER CROSSING DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5 1985 (signed to press 10 Jul 85)  
pp 244-245

[Article by Col Dr R. Zimmer: "Possibilities for Intensification in Bridge Building With the Help of the SBG 66"]

[Text] Intensification of military activity means increasing the defense capability with less utilization of defense resources. Here is an example from the area of military transport.

Through the use of scientific-technical findings, one can, for example, develop and utilize an effective bridge system for low-water bridge construction, which, however, is very costly. On the other hand, a similar effect can in many cases be achieved at less expense with existing designs by improving the structural elements, the technological processes, the training and the command.

With the mass use of push barges on the waterways, favorable preconditions for this are provided by the movable-bridge equipment 66 (SBG 66) that was developed and utilized in the conversion of barges for the construction of movable bridges and ferries. It can be used very effectively on the basis of standardized structural elements. A deck was thereby put into the open barges that can be used by wheeled and tracked equipment as well as by the railroad.

Later, in the further development of transport means on the waterways, the flush-deck push barge (GSP 54) came into use. Conversion is no longer needed for it. One can drive directly onto the deck on top.<sup>1</sup> In this way, the structural elements of the SBG 66 are available for other operational capabilities as well.

1. Overpass Construction With Land Supports

To be able to make full use of the capacity of military roads and military railroads, it is necessary to overcome same-level crossings through the construction of overpasses. The construction of permanent bridges is costly and time-consuming and consequently is not suitable for military purposes. Practice shows that elements of the SBG 66 can be utilized for overpass construction. Numerous two-lane overpass structures can be constructed with the deck elements having a length of 8.5 meters and with the land supports (Figure 1).

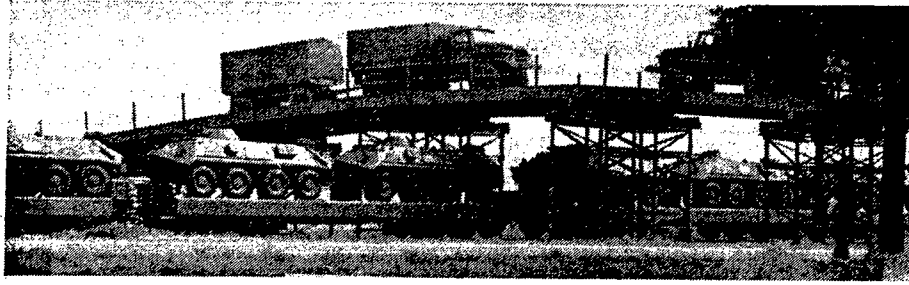


Figure 1. Overpass Structure With Land Supports

## 2. Low-Water Bridge With Pile Piers

Primarily section beams made of wood or sectional steel are used in the construction of low-water bridges. The deck elements of the SBG 66 expand the possibilities in the construction of low-water bridges.

The following deck elements can be used:

Length = 6.0 meters, width = 0.5 meters, height = 0.50 meters, weight = 1,000 kg

Length = 8.5 meters, width = 0.5 meters, height = 0.50 meters, weight = 1,450 kg

The load capacity of these deck elements, which are designed as hollow boxes, is 80 tons. As a result, they can be driven on by all wheeled and tracked vehicles including flat-bed trucks loaded with tracked vehicles. In addition, depending upon the circumstances of each case, the deck elements with recessed rails can also be used for the construction of railroad bridges.

It is not the stretch beams that determine the load capacity but the supports, which must be structurally designed accordingly. Depending upon the use of the bridge, the pile piers are to be made single-row or double-row. To attain a high construction speed, one must establish a closed technological line that ensures the pile-driving and setting of the pile piers as well as the covering of the fields.

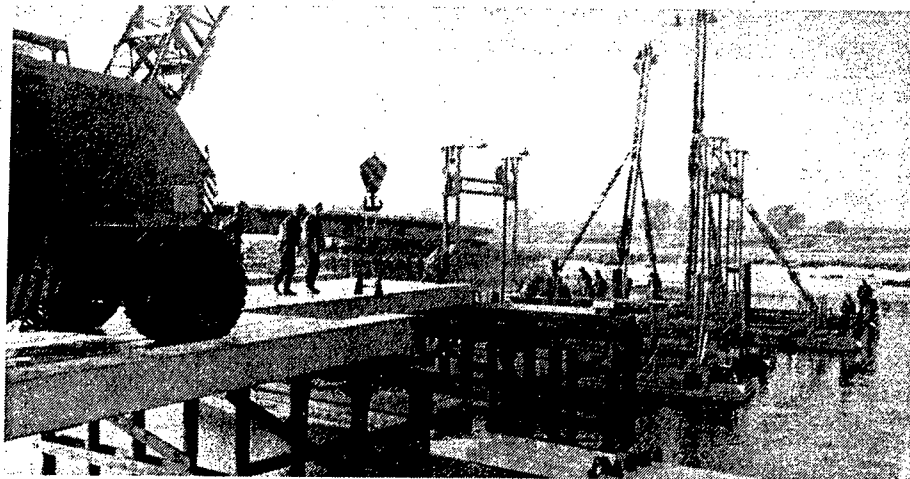


Figure 2. Low-Water Bridge SBG 66 With Pile Piers

In Figure 2, one can discern the Heavy Pile-Driving Ferry 500 (SRF 500), the Work Ferry 500 (AF 500) and the covering of the floatable deck elements SBG 66. The floatability of the stretch beams substantially increases the pace of construction. The previously complicated addition of deck elements on the bridge is simplified and the covering can take place continually with single or multiple crossarms.

### 3. Low-Water Bridge With Vertically Adjustable Supports

To a substantial degree, the pace of the construction of temporary bridges depends upon the time for the construction of the supports.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous efforts are being undertaken to correct the unfavorable relationship between the expenditure for the construction of supports and for the covering of the superstructure. Vertically adjustable supports have proven quite satisfactory. They are designed for a load capacity of 60 tons as well as for one-lane traffic by tracked and wheeled vehicles (Figure 3).

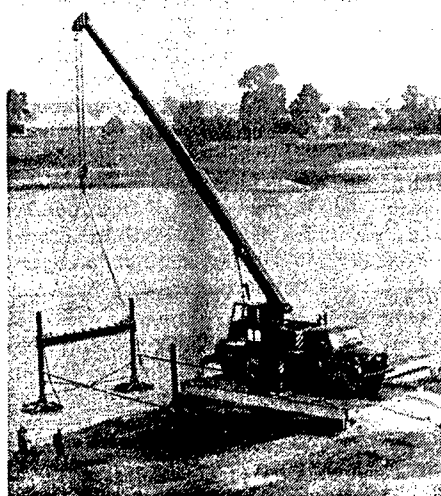


Figure 3. Low-Water Bridge SBG 66 With Vertically Adjustable Supports

The verticle adjustability is possible in a grid system in accordance with the prevalling water depths. A crane is used to bring the vertically adjustable supports--passed through stand-off mounts--into the appropriate position and they are then covered with the floatable deck elements SBG 66.

### 4. Deck Element SBG 66 With Lower Bracing

Through a justifiable increase in the support span, the number of pile piers can be reduced and thus the construction pace can be increased. In the scope of the universal use of the deck element SBG 66, a lower bracing was developed and tested that makes possible a support span of 17.0 meters (Figure 4). This obviates the need for a support relative to the deck element with a length of 8.5 meters.

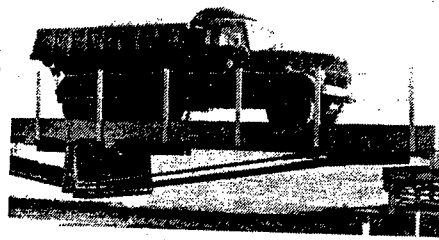


Figure 4. Deck elements SBG 66 With Lower Bracing

After the appropriate preparation of the deck elements, the lower bracing can be mounted with no problems. In addition, in many cases, the support span of 17.0 meters makes possible the construction of bridges over small water obstacles without support. With the necessary cranes, the deck elements can be set on the bank girders. These deck elements are thus extremely well suited for the construction of low-water bridges as well as high-water bridges.

Table 1. Efficiency Trends

<u>Structural Elements</u>	<u>Load Capacity in Tons</u>	<u>Supporting Span in Meters</u>	<u>Deck Width in Meters</u>	<u>Material</u>	<u>Construction Pace (relative)</u>
Low-water bridge with Pile Piers					
Girders	60	to 6.0	4.2	wood	100
Beams	60	to 10.0	4.2	wood layer steel	150
Deck element SBG 66	80	8.5	4.2	wood layer hollow box	250
Deck element SBG 66 With lower bracing	60	17.0	4.2	hollow box	350
Low-water bridge with Vertically adjustable Supports					
Deck element SBG 66	60	8.5	4.2	hollow box	500
Overpass structure					
Conventional	60	to 10.0	4.2	steel wood layer	100
Land supports with Deck elements SBG 66	80	8.5	4.2	hollow box	250
Vertically adjustable Supports with SBG 66	60	8.5	4.2	hollow box	500

## 5. Overpass Structure With Vertically Adjustable Supports

The vertically adjustable supports can be used in the water as well as on land. With these supports, a rapid work pace was attained, for example, in the construction of overpasses. Rapid assembly is possible after the necessary leveling work in the bridge axis and the latching of the cross brackets at the appropriate support height. And the assembly can thereby be carried out from the middle over a single-track or double-track railroad line. The overpass structure is ready for use after the longitudinal bracing of the supports to absorb the longitudinal forces that occur and after the covering of the fields with deck elements SBG 66 (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Overpass Structure With Vertically Adjustable Supports

## 6. Transport of the Deck Elements SBG 66

In the construction of temporary bridges, a closed technological line is of crucial importance in the unity of support construction or assembly, the production or covering of the superstructure, and the transport of structural elements. The transport of the deck elements SBG 66 can, for example, occur in packet form with the W 50 truck and trailer (Figure 6). With cranes, the packets can be loaded and unloaded or set into the water, so that a high transport capacity can be achieved with few troops and resources.



Figure 6. Transport of the Deck Elements SBG 66

### FOOTNOTES

1. R. Zimmer, "Flush-Deck Push Barges and Their Use in Military Ferries and Bridge Construction," MILITAERTECHNIK, No 2, 1980, p 76.
2. R. Zimmer, "Highway Bridge in the Military Test," MILITAERTECHNIK, No 1, 1983, p 30.

POLAND

## NEW JUDICIAL SYSTEM LAWS STIRS PRESS DEBATE

### Court, Prosecutor General Rulings Defined

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish 29 Jun 85 p 1

[Article by commentator: "Two Important Laws"]

[Text] Strengthening the position of law and law-abidingness, and strengthening the position of the organs for the administration of justice are the goals of the designers of the two laws that were passed by the Sejm on 20 June: the Law on the System of General Courts and the Law on the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic. In both cases, existing legal regulations were outdated, especially the Law on the System of General Courts that was passed in 1928 (its numerous amendments did not standardize it or adapt it to current needs).

The new general courts system law expands the courts' jurisdiction and tasks. The organization of the general courts was established and, in accordance with public needs and common sense, the possibility of creating a regional court for more than one region was taken into consideration. The regulations concerning the status of judges are important, including the regulation concerning judicial independence (the most important one), their subjugation only to the law and the recognition of judicial immunity. The expanded rights of collegiate organs and the inclusion of representatives of regional courts in these organs should also be mentioned. This law also regulates problems associated with aldermen. Obviously, this law elevates the ranking of social judges.

In accordance with the provision of the Constitution, the Law on the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic obligates the prosecutor general to abide by the laws, to protect social ownership and to assure respect for civil rights. The prosecutor general's primary task is to combat and counteract crime. In addition to the obligations concerning initiating and conducting preliminary proceedings, the obligation to oversee preliminary proceedings conducted by other authorized state organs is worthy of special emphasis. The law requires the prosecutor general to take appropriate action any time the law is broken while observing the regulations concerning impartiality and equal treatment of all citizens.

Even a cursory examination of the basic principle of the new laws indicates



their great importance to strengthening law-abidingness and the socialist character of the administration of justice to achieve order, social discipline and public safety. Thus it is understandable why work on the concepts and drafts of the new legal solutions lasted so long, and that these concepts and drafts were debated thoroughly, especially by the legal community. During the course of these discussions, various proposals were also offered on the basic assumptions concerning the functions of the general courts and the prosecutor general. PRAWO I ZYCIE's readers were kept informed of the course of these discussions via the reports of the meetings of the Sejm commissions. The currently published editorial discussion entitled "Judicial Beat" frequently discusses the court systems. We discuss the various viewpoints concerning the function of the prosecutor general in the PRAWO I ZYCIE "FORUM" column (even though they concern discussions that are now closed). It should be emphasized here that the Sejm commissions and the Sejm itself, after a detailed analysis, prejudged the discussion, selecting as the optimum solution the one proposed in the Council of State draft that was amended by the Sejm. The customary wonts and traditions and the practical implementation of specific solutions played no small role here.

#### Prosecutor General Interviewed

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish 28 Jul 85 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Dr Jozef Zyta, prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic, by Wacław Opacki; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] According to the Constitution, the public prosecutor's office is the guardian of law-abidingness. What is your opinion on law observance in our country?

[Answer] That is the proper first question to ask. After all, concrete reality is the deciding factor determining what a public prosecutor's office can accomplish in its operations. Law-abidingness is a state in which state organs, in their conduct toward citizens, are closely linked with the legal regulations that are applied in practice. At the same time, the observance of the law by state organs is assured by appropriate guarantees in the form of appeal instruments, complaint institutions, the existence of specialized legal control organs and the like.

[Question] In acknowledging the increase in reported crimes, the question normally arises: Is crime really increasing or is it only a statistical change brought about by better reporting of crimes?

[Answer] It is certain that it is the much better reporting of crime resulting primarily from the energetic activity of the Council of Ministers Committee on Law Observance, Public Order and Social Discipline. One needs only to recall such extensive control activities as "Sector," "Safe Tracks" and other similar actions that were initiated and coordinated by this committee.

[Question] In addition to better reporting, is there also a real increase in crime?

[Answer] This is proven especially by the conspicuous increase in those crimes that are not affected by their disclosure. This concerns, for example, entering and robbing a home, robberies and so forth. In addition, it is obvious to all that the number of speculation crimes and the like is incomparably greater than last year. In analyzing the structure of recorded crimes, in general it can be said that in reality the conspicuously greater increase in reported crimes to a great extent affected the increased number of reported crimes. Thus, the crime threat is much more serious than in previous years.

[Question] Can you cite the most recent data?

[Answer] The overall increase in crime is caused primarily by increases in the following crimes: entering and robbing homes (in 1979 its reported crime factor was 193, in 1984 it was 380);

-- Economic crimes (the factors were 21 and 63 respectively);

-- Fiscal crimes (the factors were 196 and 47).

Concerning crimes of violence against persons, one can also observe an increase, but much less so than acts committed for financial gain. The number of rapes increased from 1,578 in 1979 to 2,184 in 1984 (4.4 and 5.9 per 100,000 residents respectively). A modest increase in crimes against the family, guardians and children has been noted.

[Question] The resolution of the 17th Plenum also indicated a need to expand the role of the social factor to prevent and combat crime.

[Answer] We expect that the previously mentioned law will increase the willingness of citizens to cooperate with the administration of justice and prosecution organs. Implementing these laws will truly satisfy society's sense of justice. People are evidently convinced that there is no lenience towards individuals breaking the elementary norms of community life. Prosecutors maintain extensive and direct contact with the public. This occurs by hearing complaints and meeting with workplace crews, students, residents of housing developments and the like. For example, 17,665 meeting of prosecutors with various social groups occurred in 1984.

[Question] Much is being said about the need to shape society's legal culture. Are you satisfied with the existing state of affairs in this area, and what actions are you taking to improve this culture?

[Answer] Research conducted in this area (and much research has been done in this area in Poland) indicates that knowledge of the law varies. However, in the area of criminal law, an overwhelming majority of citizens are well aware what is and is not permitted. Among other things, this results from the fact that the well-known, the so-called elementary moral norms agree in their discretionary aspects with the dispositions of the most violated norms of

criminal law. I do not wish to ignore the need to popularize criminal law, but it should be known that only a miniscule number of law breakers were not aware of the illegality and penalty of their actions. Therefore, in combating crime, the problem lies mainly in respecting known regulations.

[Question] To some extent, the situation is different concerning knowledge about the very extensive labor, civil and administrative laws. Various actions are required here to familiarize the public with legal resolutions that are important from the citizen's point of view and to assure citizens' respect for the law. What are you doing in this area?

[Answer] The prosecutor general's office is taking many actions to increase society's legal culture. Appropriate initiatives are being taken in the framework of the program to improve the public's education on the law which was approved on 16 October 1984 by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. Where it concerns combating crime, above all prosecutors indicate the consequences of breaking the law as well as the conditions encouraging criminality. They realize this primarily at meetings with the public and during individual discussions.

[Question] On 20 June the Sejm passed the Law on the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic. Which of its provisions are especially noteworthy?

[Answer] It is the third law concerning the prosecutor general as an organ independent of the state administration. It expands the established model of a prosecutor general. The main task of the prosecutor general and the public prosecutors subordinate to him is to execute the constitutional function of guarding that socialist law-abidingness is observed in the action of state organs, other state organizational units, cooperatives and their associations, and professional, self-governing and social organizations, and in citizen proceedings (article 2).

[Question] Thus, the rank of public prosecutor tasks is important and its scope is very extensive. But, compared to the old law, is the new law more specific about public prosecutor functions and does it define more accurately the obligations and rights of prosecutors?

[Answer] I am convinced that it does. After all, the law clearly indicates that the goal of public prosecutor activity is to protect and strengthen the political and socioeconomic system of the Polish People's Republic, to protect social ownership and to assure respect for citizens' rights (article 1, paragraph 1). A new provision of the law requires a public prosecutor to influence society's awareness of the law (article 1, paragraph 2) which is related to the problem discussed in the reply to the previous question.

The law now authorizes the prosecutor general to forward proposals to the Council of State and Council of Ministers to undertake legislative initiatives and to direct proposals to the Constitutional Tribunal to ascertain the constitutionality of a legislative act or of other normative acts with the Constitution or legislative acts (articles 8 and 9). These important rights are linked with the standing that a public prosecutor's office achieves in

realizing the task to guard law-abidingness. The law provides a public prosecutor with new instruments, strengthening his rights as an overseer over preliminary proceedings conducted by other organs. Specifically, the prosecutor general's guidelines in the area of preliminary proceedings are binding for all organs, and appropriate guidelines issued by ministries require the approval of the prosecutor general (article 27).

The law delineates public prosecutor obligations more precisely, accenting among other things the need to improve the level of knowledge and professional qualifications, and the inclination and readiness to act under any conditions and in any place (articles 58 and 60). Without going into details, it can be said that this law improves existing regulations concerning public prosecutor offices and introduces some new solutions that are appropriate for our country's legal and social situation. The essence of the law entitles one to state that by hard work, fortitude and effort, the public prosecutors have earned high political and social marks.

#### Prosecutor Argues for Different Changes

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish 29 Jun 85 p 7

[Article by Marian Rybicki, professor of constitutional law at the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic from 1956-1957, and minister of justice from 1957-1965: "About the Prosecutor General Law"]

[Text] In association with the report on the meetings of the Sejm commissions working on the draft of the Law on the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic ("There Will Be No Revolution," PRAWO I ZYCIE, No 22) and the naming in this report of Prof Marian Rybicki as an opinion shaper, in accordance with good traditions, we believe it is appropriate to publish his response in this matter.

In fact, the law was passed by the Sejm during the 20 June session, which we describe more extensively on page 1. However, we believe that publishing the different viewpoints presented during work on the draft is important to the legal education process (additional material will appear shortly in the PRAWO I ZYCIE FORUM column).

#### The Editorial Staff

The draft does not deviate in any of its primary resolutions from the system model of the prosecutor general that was introduced in Poland in 1950 and incorporated in the 1952 Polish People's Republic Constitution that is now obligatory. It also does not include any significant changes relative to the regulations contained in the obligatory 14 April 1967 law on the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic. In fact, in the draft's justification we read that "the passage of time since the 1967 law was passed, and the social and political transformations that have occurred over the past years made it necessary to introduce new regulations of a social and systemic nature." But it is difficult to detect new regulations in the draft itself that are truly systemic.

Changes vis-a-vis the present legal status are limited to regulations that are incidental relative to other new laws or to intraorganizational matters that at most can be justified by amending the currently obligatory law. The other changes concern social and living problems that can be resolved easily via acts that are of a lesser ranking than a law.

Thus, in my opinion the scope and degree of the draft's innovations are a bit flimsy to form a basis for passing a new public prosecutor law.

The above opinion does not mean that the current public prosecutor model does not require fundamental changes.

The changes in the political-systemic sphere that were announced and even initiated over the past several years (including those in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress) justify the need to reform the public prosecutor's office. But the examined draft does not include any elements attesting to an intention to introduce such a reform. Although in the justification for the draft we find references, but very general ones at that, to the instructions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the draft does not consider, and even completely neglects the one specific directive contained in the Ninth Congress resolution referring directly to the public prosecutor's office, namely the consideration of a procedure for the Sejm to designate the prosecutor general.

Of course, realizing this directive would require changing article 65 of the Constitution, which states that the prosecutor general is designated and removed by the Council of State, to which the prosecutor general reports his activities. Here one should remember that the postulate linking the prosecutor general with the Sejm and his responsibility to the Sejm is closely linked with the trend of changes for socialist renewal aimed at truly strengthening the Sejm's position and rights. The current exceptional position of the prosecutor general in Poland is especially striking if we consider that he is designated by the Council of State for an undetermined period, that is, his term is not specified. This is an especially privileged situation that is unusual compared to the position of all other leading state organs, including the Council of State itself and the government whose terms are limited to the Sejm's 4-year term.

Unlike Poland, the constitutions of the other socialist countries specify that the parliament designates the prosecutor general for a specific term, for example, 5 years in the USSR and 4 years in Hungary.

The draft of the law does not consider and properly reflect the very important changes and reforms to strengthen and implement institutional guarantees that the administration observe the law in its relationships with citizens. In particular, the concern here is about the introduction into our legal system of the principle of judicial control over administrative decisions and the initiation of legal action in this area by the Chief Administrative Court that was formed in 1980. Thus, in addition to the institution of public prosecutor control over law observance having limited influence and limited jurisdiction, basically encompassing only local administrative organs, a new institution has appeared that is equipped with many more rights relative to the decisions of

central and chief administration organ that settle disputes in a court based on the principle of judicial independence and a judiciary subject only to the law.

They impact and affect the current position and function of public prosecutors as guardians of socialist law-abidingness. In the meantime, the draft of the law under discussion treats the complete problem of creating an administrative judiciary in Poland as if it were an agenda item and does not derive any conclusions from it for situating the public prosecutor's office.

It should be remembered that the acceptance by Poland in 1950 of the model of the public prosecutor's office as a completely separate section of state organs independent of the government, which was based on the 1936 USSR Constitution, differs fundamentally from the model that was in force in Poland during the 1944-1950 period when the public prosecutor's office operated within the framework of the Ministry of Justice, and the minister of justice was the chief prosecutor. In contrast to the pre-1950 status, when the main functions of the public prosecutor's office was to prosecute crimes and file complaints before the courts, the public prosecutor's office main function after 1950 was to guard socialist law-abidingness and to monitor the lawfulness of the decisions of administration organs to assure respect for citizens' rights.

To accomplish this immense and difficult task, the public prosecutor's office was given relatively modest resources for so-called general supervision, designated since 1967 as public prosecutor control of law observance. From the very beginning, the effectiveness of these resources were limited because:

- Only territorial organs were controlled. Chief and central state administration organs were not subject to public prosecutor control of law-abidingness.

- A public prosecutor that had ascertained a law violation by a territorial administration organ could complain to the organ's superior organ, but the final decision continued to remain in the hands of an administration agent. If we consider the degree of centralization in Poland and its effects, that is, that activities of territorial administration organs are regulated in detail by means of guidelines and circular letters of chief administration organs, then the probability of superior organs supporting a citizen involved in a dispute with the bureaucracy is not great.

It should be remembered that despite the constitutional requirement defining the primary task of a public prosecutor as the guardian of law-abidingness, to a great extent this function remained and remains in the shadow of other public prosecutor duties that are very time-consuming, for example, prosecuting crimes, supervising preliminary procedures, filing and sponsoring complaints before the courts, and prophylactic activities. Burdened with these specific, very labor intensive tasks, the public prosecutor's office could not concentrate too much on monitoring law observance by the administration. Thus, in practice, citizens most often lodged complaints in these matters not with the public prosecutor's office but to the PZPR Central Committee, the Sejm or the Council of State. The public's concept of a public prosecutor stereotype

as a functionary prosecuting and indicting crimes, one that citizens could perceive him also as a guardian of law in relations between a citizen and the administration, is quite strong.

In this situation, Polish legal science has indicated for a long time, especially since 1956, the need to introduce judicial control over the legality of administrative decisions and to create an administration court for this purpose.

Many years of Polish and foreign experiences confirm the thesis that independent courts are organs that could effectively assure law observance by the entire administration. The public prosecutor's office should no longer function as the general guardian of law-abidingness, a function that to a great degree is ostentatious and without appropriate rights. Instead, the public prosecutor's office should become part of the system of organs subordinate to the government. The ongoing considerations of a systemic-political and rational-expedient nature favor this.

The Council of Ministers should be obliged to guarantee public order and the interests of the state and its citizens in accordance with the Constitution. The government cannot fulfill these tasks adequately without the possibility of using such an important instrument as the public prosecutor's office. In the area of prosecuting crimes, especially crimes against social ownership, the government and not the Council of State is capable of the most extensive discernment concerning the actual status of a threat and the needs resulting thereof. The government is obliged to direct the activities of those organs called upon to detect and prosecute crimes, for example, the Citizens' Militia, the State Trade Inspectorate, financial examination organs and many others. Effectively coordinating the activities of these organizations appears to be impossible so long as the public prosecutor's office is separate from and independent of the government.

Lately this separateness and independence of public prosecutors from the government in the struggle against crime is already to a significant extent a sham. The realities of life dictating the need to improve and expand the effectiveness of the struggle against crime and social pathology are in practice overcoming this formal separateness. However, this is not favorable from the viewpoint of the principle of the primacy of constitutional norms relative to the state's overall legal order. A recent example of this is the formation via the 2 December 1983 resolution of the Council of Ministers Committee on Law Observance, Public Order and Social Discipline, which is chaired by the minister of internal affairs. But one of the minister's deputies is the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic, despite the fact that constitutionally he is completely separate from and independent of the government.

In fact, the minister of justice is not responsible for specific judgments of independent courts, but undoubtedly he bears political responsibility for the general direction and level of administration of justice in Poland, and especially for using the resources available to him that legally allow him to shape appropriate policy for court jurisdictions. Presently, the only such resource available to the minister of justice is a motion to the Supreme Court

for an extraordinary review. However, it applies only to judgments that are already legal.

It seems that a proper and even necessary instrument at the disposal of the minister of justice designed to stand within the limits of the law on judgments that are in accord with the general line of judgment policy should be a motion amenable to the public prosecutor forwarded at a court hearing before the pronouncement of a verdict or a motion to review the verdict of a court of the first instance. It is difficult to justify and understand the present legal status in which one state organ (the public prosecutor's office) commands an instrument permitting it to influence the formation of a judgment while another organ (the Ministry of Justice), which has no influence at all on the content of prosecutor motions, bears political responsibility for the administration of justice.

It also seems difficult to justify in a rational way the situation in which independent courts and their cadres are organizationally managed by the Ministry of Justice, and in which the public prosecutor apparatus, which operates on the basis of hierarchical subordination and is designated to prosecute crime properly and effectively and to file complaints, is subordinate only to the Council of State and is completely independent of the government.

At the same time, in contrast to the courts, the decisions of public prosecutor organs are not and cannot be final. They are subject to control and review by the courts. This also applies to decisions on temporary arrests, which should be a matter for the courts, as well as to complaints of citizens concerning decisions of administrative organs which should be reviewed and settled by the courts.

Thus, it appears that the time is right for the model and position of the public prosecutor's office to be based on solutions that are rational, unequivocal and properly justified. Operating under the control of the Sejm, the government should achieve full capability for effective operation. A public prosecutor's office is needed by the government as an important weapon in the struggle against crime. In order for this struggle to be conducted legally, independent courts should monitor this struggle and determine the settlement.

In summary, I believe that the draft of the Law on the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic that was presented by the Council of State does not include any new solutions to implement the reforms mentioned in this article.

#### New Laws Described, Defended

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish 6 Jul 85 p 7

[Article by Dr Jerzy Porada, director of the Department of Courts and Pardons of the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic: "The New Law On the Prosecutor General"]



[Text] This article by Dr Jerzy Porada is in response to Prof Marian Rybicki's PRAWO I ZYCIE article "About The Prosecutor General Law."

On 20 June 1985 the Sejm passed the Law On the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic. This is the third such law since 1950 that defines completely the role, tasks, system and organization of public prosecutor's office as well as the working regulations for public prosecutors. Each of these laws, together with the legal acts amending the 1967 law, took into consideration the need to adapt public prosecutor's office to the new requirements resulting from the development of the state and social relationships. However, the fundamental principle, first expressed in the 1950 law and then raised to the rank of a constitutional norm, was thoroughly examined each time. This principle states that the task of a public prosecutor's office is to guard socialist law-abidingness. The new law repeats and expands this task by stating in article 3 that the task of the prosecutor general and his subordinate public prosecutors is to safeguard law-abidingness in the activities of state organs, other state organizational units, cooperatives and their associations, and of social, self-governing and professional organizations as well in the behavior of citizens.

Law-abidingness is linked indissolubly with socialism. It is one of the systemic mainstays of a socialist state. It is a condition and determinant in the process of socialist renewal that was initiated by the Ninth Party Congress. It was expressed in the resolution of the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee that reads: "The Central Committee affirms the party's steadfast involvement in the struggle for law-abidingness and complete respect for the law in all areas of life."

In the mechanisms for the functioning of the state, the complete complex of factors, normative and executory, guarding full observance and further strengthening of the principle of law-abidingness was anticipated and initiated, especially in recent years. The creation of the Chief Administrative Court is extremely significant. One should view the provisions of the law on government office workers from the aspect of law-abidingness. A law on the Supreme Court was passed several days after the law on the general courts system was passed. the package of laws referring directly to the problem of law-abidingness also includes a new law on the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic.

The public prosecutor's office has functioned as the guardian of law-abidingness since 1950. To realize the duties of this function, it has been equipped with appropriate legal instruments and given a suitable systemic and organizational structure. In particular, it has been made a separate, independent state organ subordinate to the Council of State and independent at all levels from the organs of state administration. Its organization is based on the principles of homogeneity, indivisibility, centralism and hierarchical subordination. As a result, the public prosecutor became self-dependent and independent of state and territorial government organs, characterized by a high degree of activity and competence, and an advocate of law observance equipped with various instruments to enforce and respect law observance.

The development and strengthening of the socialist state, and the ongoing changes in social relationships, in the economy and in citizen awareness of the law have not diminished in the least the social need for activity by the prosecutor general as the general guardian of law-abidingness. On the contrary, the strengthening of socialism in our state sharpened public opinion that the activities of state organs and other state or social organizational units as well as the behavior of fellow-citizens must be in accordance with the law. The areas of regulating via legal norms the numerous areas of the functioning of the state and its organs have expanded. New legal problems in the national economy, in labor relations, in the area of protecting public property and the like have emerged. These facts could not remain unresolved from the viewpoint of realizing law-abidingness, and thus the need arose for the prosecutor general to become interested.

In passing on 20 June 1985 the new law on the prosecutor general and incorporating in it that the task of the prosecutor general and his subordinate public prosecutors is to guard law-abidingness, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic spoke up unequivocally for maintaining the existing role and position of public prosecutor's office in the system of state organs, and for its independence and separateness. The new law authorizes the indication of the two following premises, which undoubtedly formed its basis.

The first one of them is an expression of the special significance the legislature attaches to law-abidingness and the function of an organ to guard this law-abidingness. This is an expression of the position that under the conditions of a socialist system this organ should be the public prosecutor's office. It also results from the evaluation that the aptness of the decision made over 35 years ago to entrust to the public prosecutor's office the task of guarding socialist law-abidingness was fully confirmed in practice. In addition, maintaining this decision in the new law is supported not only for systemic-doctrinal reasons but all for rational and expedient reasons.

The second premise concerns the public prosecutor's office itself. It is based on the evaluation of the public prosecutor's office acquitting itself of its entrusted tasks and the soundness of the prognosis that the public prosecutor's office will also execute these tasks in the future.

The experiences of 35 years indicate that the public prosecutor's office discharged and continues to discharge its entrusted tasks properly, in accordance with the law, in the spirit of the political and class directions outlined by the party, and in compliance with the instructions of the Council of State. The designation of guardian of law-abidingness is not ostentatious. It designates the essence and scope of tasks truly undertaken by the public prosecutor's office, tasks at all level of its activities.

In particular, there is no basis for the viewpoint that public prosecutor control over law observance, which is a manifestation of implementing the task of guarding law-abidingness, was treated as a marginal issue in the entirety of public prosecutor tasks, and that the public prosecutor is identified in the public's consciousness only as a functionary prosecuting and indicting crimes. Of course, the struggle against crime, especially in areas posing a threat, absorbed most of the effort, especially with respect to cadres. After

all, it was a decisive factor for guarding law observance in areas that especially affected the interests of the state and citizens. However, the remaining duties were never neglected. A section was formed organizationally and in terms of cadres to oversee law observance that was sensitive to citizens' complaints and suggestions. It also initiated specific official investigations and investigations inspired by territorial authorities. The results of these investigations served not only a return to legality in specific cases but also to provide information on reported offenses and irregularities of pertinent central organs.

It would be difficult to speak about the marginal significance of public prosecutor control over law observance when, for example, in 1984 public prosecutors reviewed the legality of over 51,000 administrative decisions and judgments of governing bodies concerning misdeeds, examined 2,900 problems, filed almost 600 protests, made over 4,000 pronouncements and filed 3,200 proposals concerning the initiation of administrative procedures. Another significant fact is that in programming problem examinations, the public prosecutors considered most of all those areas of law functioning that, from the viewpoint of protecting the interests of the state and citizens, remained of special interest to society.

Public prosecutor activities in the area of prophylaxis was expanded and enriched, especially in the past few years. This fact is closely related to the realization of the primary public prosecutor task, that is, guarding law-abidingness. It would be an error to think that public prosecutor prophylactic activities are limited to crime prevention. In addition to determinations made in criminal cases, it is based to a great extent on the results of law observance control. As the result of having such an extensive amount of primary material, it is directed toward preventing well-known law violations, especially based on the most troublesome phenomena of social pathology. Its measurable manifestation is, for example, the over 17,000 pronouncements issued in 1984, including about 5,700 containing proposals on professional, disciplinary and material responsibilities.

Within the framework of public prosecutor prophylactic activities, worthy of mention is the 17,000 meetings that the public prosecutors held with various social communities. This is eloquent testimony that the modern public prosecutor, remaining in constant contact with society and keeping informed about the problem of law observance, listening intently to suggestions concerning law violations, and reacting quickly to people's complaints, is far from the old stereotype of the public prosecutor who could be met only at a court hearing or when performing inquiries.

A measure of public trust in the public prosecutor's office is citizens' complaints and suggestions to public prosecutor offices. Once again we return to 1984: in addition to 4,300 written complaints, territorial public prosecutor offices received complaints from 72,000 people, including 4,000 complaints to the prosecutor general. A significant number of the complaints, written and oral, concerned non-criminal problems.

The size of this article does not permit even a brief description of public prosecutor activity in other areas in which public prosecutors realize their

primary task, that is, to guard law-abidingness. In addition to combating crime, we are thinking in particular about their participation in civil proceedings and in labor relations cases.

When evaluating the public prosecutor's office, political and class elements should not be neglected. The Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic was and is an organ of a socialist state, and its tasks are based on one of the basic systemic principles of the state: observing socialist law-abidingness. The organizational units of the public prosecutor offices passed their political test in the exceptionally difficult period after August 1980, confirming that the public prosecutor offices, which were based on the 1950 law, became an unfailing link in the system of activities of state organs. During a time of increasing anarchy, open calls to violate the law, and the disorganization of social discipline, the public prosecutor offices consistently and unyieldingly defended law and order, protected the state's interests, and resisted in all areas of its activities the violation of socialist law-abidingness. Thus the public prosecutor is that link in the system of state functioning that always served to strengthen this functioning, and that developed from its systemic assumptions. After receiving its new character in 1950, the public prosecutor's office successfully passed the test of time, grew disparately from the socialist character of our state, and made its significant contribution to strengthening law-abidingness. Its role in the state is permanent and unshakable.

In the contents of the new Law on the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic we read expressions of appreciation and trust in the public prosecutor cadres. The difficult and responsible service of the public prosecutors, their diligence and involvement, and above all their political and class identification with the socialist character of our state are written in their history. During the entire 35 years of its existence, the public prosecutor offices were directed by the principle that proper professional training, the representation of high ideological and moral values, and a politically mature public prosecutor cadre will guarantee the successful realization of its lawful tasks. We select candidates for employment in public prosecutor offices, we shape the course of public prosecutor applications, and we provide continuous political and professional training for all public prosecutor cadres with this principle in mind. As a result, these cadres, which will begin to implement the tasks formulated in the new prosecutor general law starting 1 September 1985, is fully prepared--professionally, politically and ideologically--to carry out their public prosecutor obligations to the state and society.

#### Former Prosecutor Rebutted

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish 13 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Smolenski, retired public prosecutor of the (unclear) public prosecutor's office: "Some Sidenotes on the New Public Prosecutor Law"]

[Text] This article by Jerzy Smolenski was sent in response to the publication of Prof Marian Rybicki's article "About the Public Prosecutor Law," PRAWO I ZYCIE No 26.

With reference to the introductory presentation on the new law in Prosecutor J. Porada's article ( PRAWO I ZYCIE No 27), it is worthwhile to familiarize ourselves with the views of Professor M. Rybicki (voiced, among other places, in his article published in PRAWO I ZYCIE No 26) which questions in general the model of the public prosecutor's office that has been functioning in Poland since 1950, and which postulates a return to the pre-1950 model.

It appears that absolutizing the concept of public prosecutor, treating it as if its were irrelevant to the sociopolitical system in which specific public prosecutors operate, and employing traditional criteria to evaluate public prosecutors lie at the genesis of Professor Rybicki's views. In other words, a misunderstanding of the essence of a socialist public prosecutor's office, and especially the fact that it differs in a fundamental way from a bourgeoisie public prosecutor's office, having very little in common with it besides the name, and which cannot be compared with or replaced by it.

This dissimilarity of a socialist public prosecutor's office is the result of the class dissimilarity of a socialist state, its goals and directions of activities. The tremendous growth and expansion of the state apparatus, and the goals it want to achieve not only entail a natural increase in the number of legal norms regulating the functioning of society and the state, but also give the law special significance. A true understanding and strict observance of the law by society, especially the state apparatus, condition to a greater extent than in a capitalist state, the proper execution of state functions and the proper development of social consciousness. But above all it is a necessary condition for the gradual creation of the prerequisites of socialism, material as well as moral and political, in the sense that the state wins the trust of the masses and wins their support for socialist ideology.

Based on these assumptions, Lenin--the creator of the first socialist state--indicated the objective need to form a new, unknown till now state internal function whose essence would be to guard law-abidingness in state apparatus operations, more accurately in the executory and governing organs. At the same time he proposed that this function be the responsibility of the traditional public prosecutor's office, already a specialist in the struggle against crime and the most serious law violations.

The realization of Lenin's concept about the creation of a socialist public prosecutor's office as the general guardian of law-abidingness undoubtedly is a great achievement of socialist constitutionalism, and this is independent of the methods and conditions under which the function of guarding law-abidingness is realized in practice. It is true that the principle, anticipated by Lenin, of the relegation by the public prosecutor's office of law violation problems to the courts for decisions was replaced by the principle of filing protests (objections) regarding a law violation with the same organ that allowed the violation. However, this is not a departure from the Leninist concept and does not alter the essence of the state function to

guard law-abidingness; it can only influence its effectiveness. The same must be said about the position of the public prosecutor's office in the system of state organs, especially its subordination to this or that chief organ. This is clearly shown by the initial association of Soviet public prosecutor offices with the Ministry of Justice, and then only gradually, depending on practical experience, approaching complete independence from other chief state organs (except, of course, from chief government organs). Similarly, in the framework of the Leninist concept of the public prosecutor's office, the question of the procedure for designating the prosecutor general office as the chief public prosecutor organ (by the Council of State or the Sejm) can be resolved various ways. The essence, kernel and core of the Leninist concept of the public prosecutor's office is, I repeat, the idea of a socialist state designating and realizing a new, separate and self-dependent function to guard law-abidingness.

The introduction in 1980 of judicial review of the legality of administrative decisions and the creation of the Chief Administrative Court was fully approved by the prosecutor general. On the one hand, the new solutions created a court forum to which those who have been wronged by an illegal administrative decision could appeal to directly (instead of seeking public prosecutor help as heretofore), and on the other hand, the new solutions equipped public prosecutors with new instruments to respond to law violations by the administration. In association with this, even the previous public prosecutor law was amended so that public prosecutors could execute their tasks by, among other things, "filing a complaint to the courts about illegal administrative decisions and participating in court procedures in cases relating to the legality of these decisions" (article 3, paragraph 1, point 1; and article 4, paragraph 1, point 7 of the new law). But Professor Rybicki draws another conclusion from the formation of the administrative court. Namely, he states that "the only state organs that could effectively guard law-abidingness by the entire administration are independent courts." On this basis he calls for the replacement of public prosecutor control over law observance by judicial control. It is not difficult to see here that two different concepts have been confused here: guarding law-abidingness and adjudging law-abidingness. There is no doubt that an independent court is most competent to settle law-abidingness questions, but by the nature of things it cannot include "standing guard over law-abidingness," that is, official disclosures of illegal acts and the initiation of appropriate investigations by designated organs. No court can replace the public prosecutor in this role. As is known, courts act only on motions. This is especially obvious in situations when an illegal decision is not questioned by a party because it either is in its interest, since it is the result of a conspiracy with a functionary, or for other reasons, for example, the expiration of a time limit to file a complaint or simply the unskillfulness of a party. Also, it should be remembered that judicial control concerns only one form of administrative activity, that is, decisions and does not encompass other incidences of its activities that go beyond the framework of administrative procedures (factual acts, civil law contracts, acts of a general nature and the like) where the only instrument to guard against illegal activities are public prosecutor protests.

Professor M. Rybicki cites reasons of a "systemic-political and rational-expedient" nature to justify his postulate to detach the public prosecutor's office from the function of general guardian of law-abidingness and to incorporate the public prosecutor's office into the system of organs subordinate to the government. Above all, it turns out that the Council of Ministers, which according to the Constitution is charged with protecting public order and the interests of citizens and the state, "cannot effectively execute these tasks without the possibility of using such an important organ as the public prosecutor's office." In addition, "the Ministry of Justice undoubtedly bears political responsibility for the general direction and level of the administration of justice in the state," but does not possess the legal instruments (besides motions for an extraordinary review) which would permit him "to influence the shaping of a proper policy for court judgments." Thirdly, "It also seems difficult to justify in a rational way the situation in which independent courts and their staffs are organizationally managed by the Ministry of Justice, and in which the public prosecutor apparatus, which operates on the basis of hierarchical subordination and is designated to prosecute crime properly and effectively and to file complaints, is subordinate only to the Council of State and is completely independent of the government."

In association with this, the following must be stated.

It is not known why, and Professor Rybicki does not elucidate, the Council of Ministers cannot effectively guarantee the safeguarding of public order and the interests of citizens and the state without the possibility of using the public prosecutor's office as an organ subordinate to it. It is true that the mentioned areas, just as all other areas of government activity, are in the sphere of interest of public prosecutor offices. The belief widely held up to a short time ago that it is the duty of the public prosecutor's office to prosecute crimes and that the public prosecutor's office bears prime responsibility for this is gradually receding. This justified evolution is promoted in an important way in the December 1983 resolution of the Council of Ministers on the formation of the Council of Ministers Committee on Law Observance, Public Order and Social Discipline, which anticipates committee cooperation with the prosecutor general and others in executing its tasks in the area of prosecuting and preventing crimes.

Similarly, Professor Rybicki does not explain the basis of his thesis that the "Ministry of Justice undoubtedly bears political responsibility for the general direction and level of administrative of justice in the state." It is known that the Supreme Court is responsible for court judgments and that it executes judiciary supervision relative to all courts. On the other hand, the Ministry of Justice has supervisory control over courts only with respect to administration and cadres. As the chief administrative organ, the Ministry of Justice has no authority to interfere in the area of judiciary supervision and thus is not responsible for this side of court activities.

One cannot refuse a certain rationality concerning Professor Rybicki's final argument. In essence, so long as the courts and public prosecutor offices became separate departments of state organs that were independent of government and administrative organs, and so long as in association with this

the public prosecutor offices also achieved organizational self-dependence and independence, then one can criticize keeping the courts in the framework of the Ministry of Justice and subordinating their organization and cadres to the Ministry Of Justice, that is, an administrative organ. But this "difficult to justify in a rational way situation" does not in the least support Professor Rybicki's concept; instead it speaks in favor of another place for the courts, which would be more appropriate with its constitutional position.

What can one conclude from these comments? In any case, they can only be characterized as polemical in part because an exchange of views concerns various subjects. The law and these comments discuss a socialist public prosecutor's office. Professor Rybicki promotes the traditional public prosecutor's office.

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POLAND

'ACCELERATED PROCEEDINGS' REVIEWED AFTER ONE MONTH

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by (eke)]

[Text] Rules of accelerated proceeding have been applied much more often in court cases ever since the enactment of legislation on special criminal liability. One should remember that the main goal of such judicial procedure is to streamline the judicial process whenever there is no reasonable doubt about the guilt of the accused.

This most often happens when the culprit is caught red-handed or just after the fact and is brought into court within 48 hours.

During all of July 1985 the courts, through accelerated proceedings, heard the cases of 2,648 individuals and passed sentence on 2,131 of them. Most of those on trial, 481, were caught illegally producing alcohol. The next largest group, consisting of 273 persons, was composed of burglars and thieves of private property (262). The courts also heard 214 cases of individuals accused of crimes of speculation and 237 for participating in brawls, street disturbances and assaults.

Of the 1,412 decisions handed down, the majority, or 73 percent, was for imprisonment without possibility of parole. In 236 cases the individuals were placed on probation and in 487 other instances, the accused were merely fined. An additional penalty was given to 1,218 convicts by publicizing the verdict while 44 others lost their jobs or right to engage in business activity. Furthermore, the courts fined those culprits committing acts with the intent of material gain. Many of the fines were in excess of 50,000 zloty and some even higher than 100,000 zloty.

The cases of more than 250 individuals were turned over to be tried under the rules of ordinary proceeding mainly because of the need to introduce additional evidence and when the penalty could be more severe than that permitted under accelerated procedure.

Effective 1 July 1985, the law also allows for the application of pre-emptive rules of legal proceeding. In essence, this means that instead of a trial

verdict a court will issue an order for the enforcement of criminal sanctions without holding a trial. This simplified procedure is used in cases where the facts regarding the crime and guilt of the accused are not in doubt, when there is sufficient evidence testifying to the perpetration of the offense or if the accused admits his guilt. Through this procedure, the court hands out jail terms, fines ranging from between 20,000 to 500,000 zloty and additional penalties. In a situation in which the defendant feels his sentence is unjust, he has the right to appeal the sentence at that time. Further proceedings regarding his case are conducted under the rules of ordinary proceeding. The court order which was previously imposed is consequently invalidated.

The experience of the past month confirms the fairness of such legal action, since out of 2,519 sentences imposed, only 272 were appealed. Most of the sentences were for theft of common and private property (451 cases) and speculation offenses (335 cases).

In July the courts issued 939 orders for incarceration under the rules of pre-emptive legal proceedings, and all of the other orders issued under these rules called for fines only. Under these same rules the court also ordered additional sanctions, i.e., the publicizing of the court order (in 233 cases) and forfeiture of the right to engage in a profession (in 24 cases).

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POLAND

#### ADVISORY MEETINGS TO SELECT CANDIDATES BEGIN

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Aug 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Last Friday, Jelenia Gora's Provincial Electoral College [WKW] drew up a list of individuals seeking to become candidates for Sejm deputies. The list of 22 individuals represents a social and occupational cross-section of the region. After participating in voter consultation meetings, 12 candidates will be named out of these 22 nominees to run for 6 parliamentary seats.

Jelenia Gora's regional council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] has nearly completed its preparations for consultation meetings between citizens and the prospective candidates. The meetings, which begin on 15 August, will allow the public to acquaint itself with each hopeful candidate and choose those they find most suitable.

To familiarize them with a wide-range of the issues currently facing this voivodship, the candidates were given appropriate briefing materials. Included was a summary of what action has been taken toward fulfilling proposals and demands addressed to the provincial governor of Jelenia Gora during pre-election meetings for national council seats in June 1984. This will allow the candidates to answer specific questions which will undoubtedly arise during the meetings with the electorate. Organizers of the meetings anticipate that the electorate will pose many new questions and demands to the future deputies who in turn will draw on these suggestions to map out their future plans of action for the purpose of further developing the province and improving the living conditions for its residents.

In the Legnica district, 16 consultation meetings presenting candidates proposed by the WKW have been planned for the electorate. The first meeting was held in Jawor. In the Walbrzych electoral district, an inaugural consultation meeting of citizens has been planned for 15 August in Ustron Slaski. In all, 24 meetings are planned during this first stage. The meetings will allow the electorate to personally meet the prospective candidates and to become acquainted with the most important socioeconomic problems in their region. The PRON declaration and the Law on Elections to the PRL Sejm will also be discussed during these meetings.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

LOPATKA GREETES GLEMP AND POGGI--Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, accompanied by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, Krakow Metropolitan, and a group of bishops have returned to Warsaw from Rome. They participated in the European conference of Bishops in the vatican and in final ceremonies connected with the celebrations of the Year of Methodius. Archbishop Luigi Poggi, Special apostolic nuncio and head of the group for permanent working contacts between the Holy See and the Polish Government, arrived in Poland on the same plane. At Warsaw airport, Prime Jozef Glemp and Archbishop Luigi Poggi were greeted by Minister Adam Lopatka, head of the Office for Religious affairs, and Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, secretary of the Episcopate of Poland. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 14 Oct 85 LD]

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